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N^o. XXII.



ON THE
STATE OF MAN SUBSEQUENT
 TO THE PROMULGATION
 OF CHRISTIANITY,
 PART IV.

By *Caroline Frances Cornwallis*.



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Request of
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(H. U. 1874.)
President of Harv. Univ.

1472
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ADVERTISEMENT.

I HAVE to apologize to my readers for an oversight in the first part of this work, the consequence of a hasty curtailment of one of the chapters, to bring it within the prescribed bounds. In the mention of the origin of the Novatians, p. 190, the name of Novatianus, who was made bishop by the agency of Novatus, has carelessly been struck out; and it consequently appears as if Novatus himself had been consecrated. My illness at the time must plead my excuse for suffering so stupid a blunder to pass into print. The reader is requested to restore the missing limb of the sentence, and at p. 190 of Part I. l. 9. after “and there,” insert “joined himself to a certain Novatianus and”—and also in Part II. of this work, p. 31, l. 7, for “remedies” to insert “realizes.”

ERRATA.

- Page 60, line 19, for *Franciscan* read *Franconian*
„ 145, „ 27, for *Ebronites* read *Ebbonites*
„ 274, „ 5, for *point* read *part*

A



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- | A. D. | |
|-------|--|
| 1096 | GUATIER surnamed <i>Sans argent</i> is made general of the crusade, and sets out without waiting for the nobles under Godfrey of Bouillon. |
| 1097 | Godfrey of Bouillon makes himself master of Nikæa, June 20, after a short siege. |
| 1098 | The Saracens attack the Christians before Antioch, but are repulsed, and the city taken, June 3. Baudry bishop of Noyon, being also a citizen of that city, formed its inhabitants into a <i>commune</i> , and obtained a charter from king Louis le Gros. |
| 1099 | Jerusalem besieged and taken by the Christians, July 5. Godfrey of Bouillon is chosen king by the assembled chiefs of the army. |
| 1100 | William Rufus of England is slain. Godfrey of Bouillon dies and is succeeded by his brother Baldwin. William IX. Duke of Aquitaine takes the cross. |
| 1101 | The Duke of Aquitaine marches with 40,000 combatants. |
| 1102 | His army is defeated in Dalmatia. |
| 1103 | Beauvais is formed into a <i>commune</i> by the bishop, and receives a charter. |
| 1106 | Henry IV. of Germany dies at Liege. Robert of Normandy is defeated and taken by his brother, Henry I. of England. |

- | | |
|-------|---|
| A. D. | |
| 1107 | Philip king of France dies, and is succeeded by Louis VI. |
| 1108 | Free communes began to be formed in France. |
| 1111 | The emperor Henry V. takes Pope Pascal prisoner. |
| 1112 | Louis VI. of France (Le Gros) grants a charter to the citizens of Laon, for a large sum, after receiving which he revokes the charter. Massacre of the Nobles by the infuriated citizens. |
| 1115 | Angers demands and obtains privileges from Fulk V. |
| 1118 | The order of Knights Templars instituted. The citizens of Verdun at feud with the Count de Bar. The emperor Henry V. defends their liberties. |
| 1122 | The emperor Henry V. and pope Calixtus II. terminate the quarrel about investitures, by the peace of Worms. |
| 1124 | The citizens of Toul and Metz have privileges granted them. |
| 1125 | The emperor Henry V. dies without issue. Lothaire II. of Saxe succeeds. |
| 1128 | After 16 years of civil war a charter is again granted to Laon. |
| 1130 | Two popes are chosen by different factions, i. e. Anacletus II. and Innocent II. The latter though chosen by the fewest Cardinals is most generally acknowledged. |
| 1135 | The clergy procure the coronation of Stephen at the death of Henry I. of England. |
| 1137 | Dec. 5. The Emperor Lothaire dies. Conrad, Duke of Suabia is elected in the following year. |
| 1140 | Arnold of Brescia flourishes. Rheims establishes its independence. The war cry of Guelph and Ghibeline is first adopted in the battle of Wensberg. Council of Sens. |
| 1144 | Several cities of Italy having claimed inde- |

- A. D.
- pendence, Rome attempts the same. Pope Lucius besieging the Senators is wounded, and dies. Edessa is surprised and taken by the Turks.
- 1145 Louis VII. of France announces at Bourges his intention to lead a fresh crusade.
- 1146 Dec. 28. St. Bernard succeeds, after many ineffectual attempts, in inducing the emperor Conrad to take the cross.
- 1148 The crusade under Conrad III. and Louis VII. Defeat and destruction of their armies.
- 1152 Frederic Barbarossa emperor. Louis VII. divorces Eleanor of Guienne. Henry II. of England, then Duke of Normandy marries her.
- 1153 St. Bernard dies.
- 1154 Stephen of England dies. Henry II. succeeds.
- 1155 Arnold of Brescia is burned.
- 1162 Frederic Barbarossa destroys Milan.
- 1163 }
1169 } Conquest of Egypt by the Turks.
- 1164 The constitutions of Clarendon made in England.
- 1165 A council held at Lombers against the sect called "*bons hommes*" in the diocese of Albi.
- 1169 Roger son of Raymond Trencavel attacks Beziers in order to revenge the death of his father: but having obtained possession in consequence of a treaty promising pardon to the citizens, treacherously introduces Spanish soldiers, and puts all the men to the sword, *giving the women to the soldiery*.
- 1170 Thomas Becket archbishop of Canterbury is slain.
- 1171 End of the Fatimite Caliphs. Saladin, a Kurd, becomes Sultan.
- 1173 Rebellion of the sons of Henry II. of England

- A. D.
- against their father, encouraged by Louis VII.
- 1176 Some disciples of Waldo arrive in Bohemia, and propagate their doctrines there.
- 1177 A truce is made between Frederic Barbarossa and the cities of Lombardy.
- 1180 Louis VII. of France dies.
- 1187 Saladin conquers Jerusalem.
- 1189 } Crusade under Frederic Barbarossa. Siege
1191 } of Acre. The emperor is drowned in the
Cydmes. Richard I. of England lands at
Acre.
- 1192 Richard I. is taken on his return and held a prisoner by Henry VI. of Germany.
- 1193 Death of Saladin. Accession of Innocent III. to the pontificate. He sends two monks to enquire respecting heresy in the province of Narbonne.
- 1194 Henry VI. of Germany takes possession of the kingdom of the two Sicilies in right of his wife.
- 1199 John succeeds to the throne of England.
- 1201 The empress Constantia at her death leaves Innocent III. regent of Sicily for her son.
- 1203 Fourth Crusade. Siege and conquest of Constantinople by the Latin Christians.
- 1204 Second siege and pillage of Constantinople. Baldwin count of Flanders elected emperor of the East.
- 1206 Zinghis or Genghis Khan first emperor of the Moguls and Tartars.
- 1207 The pope's legate endeavours in vain to persuade Raymond VI. count of Toulouse to proceed against heretics, excommunicates him, and places his states under an interdict. A Toulousian gentleman quarrels with and kills the legate. Innocent III. proclaims a crusade against the Albigeois.
- 1209 Beziers is taken by the crusaders under Si-

A. D.	
	mon de Montfort, and <i>all</i> the inhabitants massacred.
1210	Zinghis Khan invades China.
1215	Magna Charta signed by king John of England. Frederic II. of Germany crowned.
1218	John of England dies, his son succeeds. Simon de Montfort is killed at the siege of Toulouse: his son raises the siege.
1219	Second crusade against the Albigeois conducted by Prince Louis of France.
1223	Death of Philip Augustus of France.
1226	A fresh crusade proclaimed against Raymond VII. Count de Toulouse and the Albigeois.
1227	Zinghis Khan dies.
1229	The council of Toulouse establishes the Inquisition in Languedoc.
1231	Gregory IX. discovers heretics in Rome and burns many.
1233	Stettin embraces the reformed faith. A crusade is undertaken against it, and a massacre of many thousands follows.
1241	Frederic II. of Germany calls on the powers of Europe to ally themselves with him against the Tartars, who retreat.
1242	Siberia is seized by the Tartars.
1245	The pope's nuntio is warned by a knight sent from the assembled barons of England, that he must depart within three days. Council of Lyons.
1248	Sixth Crusade led by St. Louis.
1254	Prince Edmund of England proclaimed king of Sicily and La Puglia, March 6.
1258	Persia and the empire of the Caliphs of Baghdad are both seized on by the Mogul Tartars. The provisions of Oxford agreed on by the king and barons of England.
1261	Constantinople is recovered by the Greeks.
1263	Conquest of Wales by prince Edward, afterwards Edward I.

A. D.	
1264	Henry III. of England breaking faith with the barons, they take arms and capture him in battle near Lewes.
1265	Charles of Anjou subdues Naples and Sicily.
1272	Accession of Edward I. of England.
1273	Rodolph count of Hapsburg elected emperor.
1284	The mendicant friars in England are accused of heresy.
1285	Accession of Philip IV. (le bel) of France.
1288	Philip IV. of France publishes an <i>ordonnance</i> in favour of the Jews.
1291	Adolphus of Nassau elected emperor.
1294	Boniface VIII. chosen pope.
1298	Albert I. son of Rodolph is elected emperor. Boniface VIII. refuses to acknowledge him, and appears himself as a general, affirming that there was no king of the Romans but the Sovereign pontiff.
1299	Othman the son of Ortogzul first invades the territory of Nicomedia, July 27.
1302	Dante is exiled. He writes his poem during his exile.
1303	Boniface VIII. is made prisoner by Guillaume de Nogaret, by the order of Philip IV. of France. He is rescued by the people of Amagni but dies shortly after at Rome.
1305	The Knights Templars are accused.
1307	Accession of Edward II. of England. Fra Dolcino is burned at Vercelli.
1308	The Swiss Cantons free themselves from the yoke of Austria.
1309	Translation of the holy See to Avignon. Henry VII. of Luxemburg elected emperor, he marries Elizabeth, heiress of Bohemia, and that kingdom passes thus to the house of Luxemburg.
1311	The Knights Templars are condemned in a council held at Vienna.
1314	Accession of Louis X. of France. Battle of Bannock Burn in Scotland.

- A. D.**
- 1316** Philip V. brother of Louis X. succeeds to the throne of France.
- 1317** He calls together the states general and proposes the law that females shall not inherit the crown, which is ratified by them.
- 1321** The lepers are accused of poisoning the springs, and cruelly persecuted.
- 1322** Victory of Louis of Bavaria over Frederic of Austria at Muhldorf, September 28.
- 1323** Louis emperor of Germany having favoured the Visconti is excommunicated by pope John XXII.
- 1324** Birth of Wycliffe.
- 1325** Edward II. of England compelled to resign the crown to his son.
- 1328** Philip of Valois is raised to the throne of France. Chaucer is born.
- 1339** Edward III. of England invades France.
- 1341** Petrarca crowned with laurel at the Capitol. A Greek professorship is founded by the Florentine republic. Leontius Pilatus a learned Greek is induced by Boccaccio to settle at Florence.
- 1342** Colas di Rienzo is sent with Petrarca on a deputation to Avignon.
- 1346** Battle of Crecy. The first use of fire-arms.
- 1347** Rienzo assumes the government of Rome. The university of Prague is founded by Charles IV.
- 1348** A terrible plague in Europe. The Jews are suspected of having poisoned the wells and massacred.
- 1354** Colas di Rienzo is slain at Rome.
- 1356** Battle of Poitiers. John king of France is taken and carried to England.
- 1358** Insurrection of the Jacquerie in France.
- 1360** The disbanded soldiers form themselves into companies and plunder the country.
- 1362** The "great company" after defeating Jacques de Bourbon is hired by the Marquis of

A. D.	
	Monterrat, and enters Italy, carrying the plague with it.
1369	John Huss is born.
1370	Gregory XI. is elected pope.
1372	He writes to the inquisitors to renew the persecution of heretics.
1377	Accession of Richard II. of England.
1381	Insurrection of Wat Tyler in England.
1384	Death of Wycliffe.
1399	Richard II. of England is compelled to resign the crown to Henry Duke of Lancaster.
1400	Chaucer dies.



ON THE
STATE OF MAN SUBSEQUENT TO
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PART IV.

INTRODUCTION.

MORE than a thousand years had past away since the learned Gamaliel had uttered, in the great council of his nation, the remarkable sentence,—“ Refrain from these men and let them alone;—for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God.”—The men who had been called before the sanhedrim were unlearned persons of the middle rank, and when the opinion of Gamaliel had been assented to by the other chiefs of the nation, they were recalled, beaten, and discharged with an injunction that they should not again “ speak in the name of Jesus.”

The cautious statesman had advised attention to the course of events as an indication of the will of Him who "reigneth in the kingdoms of men," and he judged well, for every century sees the ill considered attempts of would be heads of the people crushed by the force of circumstances, without leaving any permanent impression on their age. What comment had the thousand years which had since elapsed, made on the words of Gamaliel?—The Jewish rulers did not long observe the cause of forbearance recommended by their colleague; they endeavoured to repress by force a doctrine which they dreaded:—where was their nation now?—Decimated and enslaved, they were hiding themselves from their merciless enemies wherever they could find shelter, "giving their cheeks to the smiters and bending before their oppressors." The Romans, as long as the followers of Christ were few, had despised a sect which sprang from a people they abhorred,—they hated it when they became numerous, and sought to extirpate it when they grew powerful enough to be regarded as a political party:—where was the roman greatness now? A barbarian from beyond the Rhine, gave laws to the imperial city: and though a prince lapped in the purple still reposed in the

gorgeous halls of Constantinople, the wild men of the desert and the steppe had torn away province after province from his feeble grasp, and the last remnant of roman power flickered like a dying taper only awaiting the first gust of wind to extinguish it. And "the work" which was to await the sure test of time to mark it as the council of God, or the invention of man, what had been its fate?—The deities of Greece and Rome lay prostrate before the cross, and the very rites which had honoured their festivals were now appropriated to honour in like manner the men who had been put to death for despising them. From the Baltic to the Mediterranean "the reproach of Christ" had been set up by his followers as the symbol of their power.

But the Christian was no longer meek or long-suffering: the bloody hilt of the victor's sword bore the once despised form of the cross, and before this the subdued barbarian was compelled to kneel, not as the symbol of freedom and life, but of subjugation, and perhaps of oppression; for though Europe, with the exception of a few remote regions, was Christian in name, it was so only in name: the wide spreading benevolence of the gospel was forgotten, and could the men who were forbidden to speak in the name of

Jesus have returned to earth, and travelled through the length and breadth of the region vauntingly termed Christendom, they would scarcely have found a vestige of the doctrine they had taught remaining among their so-called disciples. Nay had they ventured to speak this doctrine to the people, they would most probably have been called before a synod of bishops, and condemned to the flames as heretics.

Was "this work" then "of God"?—We might perhaps at that moment have doubted it; and have expected that a system which had so lost its most distinguishing characteristics must "come to nought"—Yet the event has not been so—like the body of a man in a long swoon, the vitality was not extinct: gradually, though slowly the work of God has gone on, and barbarism with its attendant polytheism, has yielded or is yielding before Christianity, the religion of the philosophical, civilised man. The struggle has been long: but could Gamaliel now rise from his grave with the same thoughts and feelings as then swayed him, he would acknowledge that time had decided the question, and would no longer refuse his homage to the doctrine of the crucified Jesus. The work *is* of God; for every step in science and cultivation

brings us nearer to the true sense of the Gospel of peace: and even if the professors of Christianity are still far from carrying out in their lives all that their Great Master taught, still the morality of the gospel is acknowledged as the rule of life, is honoured even by those who do not conform to it, and its pure standard is received as the test of good or evil. The work is not finished, nay much remains to do, but it is in progress, and cannot now be arrested: for Christian philosophy is the sole faith which can satisfy the demands of advancing science: since that only can afford to strip itself of all the mythology of superstitious belief, and come forth more lovely when these ill chosen ornaments are cast away. We have seen how the simple doctrine of Christ was gradually obscured and almost blotted out by the additions of men: a pleasanter task awaits us in watching the approaching dawn of a brighter day.

Europe was beginning to recover itself: towards the end of the eleventh century the inroads of the pagan barbarians had been checked, and those barbarians themselves had in many instances embraced the religion and the civilisation, such as they were, of the countries in which they had settled, and from rambling marauders

had become useful colonists. The Hungarians, who in the ninth century had been the terror of the countries about the Danube, were now quietly settled under their Christian monarch. The Normans more fortunate in having been fixed amid the remains of the old roman civilization, had already, in about a century and a half, become distinguished for learning and art, according to the notions of that age, no less than for military talent and bravery. England, Calabria, and Sicily, as well as the finest province of France, were already theirs, and even Constantinople seemed almost within their grasp. Their princes were able to distinguish, and promoted to high rank in the church the greatest scholars of their time, and the patronage of learning, begun by Charlemagne and Alfred, was carried on by those very pirates who had in a great measure defeated their aims during a considerable time. Even the Saracens who during the eighth century had threatened Europe with a fresh flood of barbarism had become eager cultivators of the sciences, and their proximity to the Greek empire having first given the impulse, they very soon outwent their masters, and in their turn became the instructors of the West : so much so, that the schools of Arab learning in

Spain not unfrequently received Christian scholars, who sought there for the scientific truths which had been nearly lost elsewhere. Not that, even here, the actual sum of knowledge was great, but it was of a kind to induce progress ; and though its objects were often mistaken,—though astronomy was frequently valued chiefly for purposes of astrology, and chemistry pursued in the hope of obtaining the means of transmuting metals,—yet out of these wild enquiries grew the knowledge of many important facts in science, which, when the age was better prepared to receive them, bore rich fruit.

From the schools of Cordova and Seville the study of natural philosophy began to spread through the rest of Europe : the sciences however which were considered to form the circle of a learned man's acquirements were oddly assorted, and divided somewhat fancifully into two parts called *trivium*, and *quadrivium*. Of these Grammar, Dialectics, and Rhetoric, formed the first division ; Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, the second. The introduction of the works of Aristoteles and other philosophical writers into the schools of Europe had consequences probably little foreseen by those who were most active in encouraging the revival of

ancient learning. A man accustomed to argue closely upon other matters, would not be content to take his faith upon authority, and Johannes Scotus Erigena, the favoured friend of Charles the Bald and of Alfred, first, and after him many others ventured to submit the dogmata of the church to the test of rational argument. Their views were stigmatized as dangerous and heretical by many ; but the exercise of the intellect is so natural to man that these warnings, and the yet more significant one of occasionally burning a heretic who dared to reason, instead of blindly obeying the dicta of the bishop in matters of faith—had small effect. Towards the middle and end of the eleventh century, the schools of learning which had been so anxiously founded, or made more efficient by Gerbert, the emperor Otho's tutor, afterwards Sylvester II. began to bear fruit ; and although such questions were approached very cautiously, still they were argued. In the school attached to the Abbey of Bec, and in that of Tours especially,—in the first by the learned Lanfranc, afterwards Abbot of Caen, and finally archbishop of Canterbury ;—in the second by Berenger, Hildebert, and others ;—the strictness of logical argument was already beginning to be applied to theological

controversy, no less than to other matters ; and Anselm, the scholar and successor of Lanfranc, has left us in his *Monologium* an admirable specimen of close reasoning. He supposes a man desirous of knowing all that can be *proved* by human intellect, relating to the being of a God, and so well is the subject handled that he may be placed at the head of all writers on this theme.

So successful a work of course produced a herd of admirers and imitators, and although some others may have preceded him in the same course we must acknowledge Anselm as one of the founders of that scholastic philosophy which occupied the minds of the learned during two or three centuries ; and which, though degenerating latterly into quibbles which have disgraced it in the eyes of later times, did awaken once more in men's minds the philosophy of the gospel ; and by subjecting the established dogmata of the time to the test of argument, laid the foundation for that reformation of abuses which took place at a later period, and which is even yet in progress. Yet Anselm himself was very far from seeing what were likely to be the results of the philosophy which he was teaching : his own habits of submission

to ecclesiastical authority were too firmly fixed to be shaken, even by his own reasonings, and it was not till a more fearless mind took up his views, and carried them on to their necessary consequences, that their tendency was seen. Abelard boasted that he was the disciple of Anselm,* and merely drew the legitimate conclusions from his arguments, but it was not till he had done so, that any one was aware that the sainted Archbishop had himself undermined the very fabric of roman supremacy which he was so anxious to support, and laid the foundation of the so-called heresies which followed.

It is not easy to imagine a form of society so different from anything ever to be seen again, as the state of Christendom at the period we are now entering upon. Whilst among ecclesiastics men were to be found, who, like Anselm, were capable of writing what even yet claims admiration for the clearness of its reasoning, the gentry no less than the serf population were wholly unlettered. Few even of the nobility could write, not many read; their time was devoted to war and field sports, and they

* There was another Anselm famous also as a philosophical teacher. It is not very clear to which of the two Abelard alludes.

were either utterly careless of all religious obligations, or were mere formalists attending to the ceremonies of the church, but careless of its moral precepts. Some bright exceptions there were, indeed, but they were exceptions; and the chronicler of this period records as a high praise of a noble knight that he had *no taste for robbery*, that he paid all what was due to them; avoided the society of abandoned women, and did not, *like a laic*, indulge in obscene conversation, but openly blamed it.* The idea which this praise gives of society in general at that time is not favorable. But men whose whole life was spent in arms, were not likely to be very exact in their notions on the subject of property,† nor indeed when warfare was carried

* Orderici Vitalis, lib. v.

† When William I. of England died "the citizens of Rouen were greatly alarmed, and almost all, as if they had been drunk, lost all self command, and were as much terrified as if they had seen their city menaced by a numerous army. Every one quitted his occupation, and asked counsel of his wife, his friends, or the acquaintance whom he met on his way, as to what was to be done. Every one made haste to hide his valuable property, or at least endeavoured to do so in the fear that it would otherwise be discovered." Ord. Vit. lib. vii. What a picture of a country where the whole protection of property depended on the personal character of the sovereign!

on with the barbarity of ancient times were they in a school calculated to teach any of the moral virtues.* When two of his Norman followers had rebelled against the rule of William I. in England, and their forces were finally defeated, and taken prisoners by his two lieutenants, these last ordered the right foot of every prisoner to be cut off; "*in order,*" as the chronicler coolly observes, "*that they might know them again.*" The action is recorded without blame, and seems to have been looked on as a thing of no unusual kind.

In most families some one was destined to the ecclesiastical profession, and in this case the child was placed very early in a monastery for education, and probably never saw his parents again:† and this severance of the tie between

* No sooner was William I. dead than the Norman chiefs hastened to take advantage of it, and returned to their *brigandage*. Robert de Belesme count d'Alençon, was at the head of these. "After having carried off the plunder," says the chronicler, "he set fire to the whole of the country; and amused himself by tormenting his prisoners, whether knights or peasants, till some lost their life, and others their limbs: for such was his cruelty that he had much rather witness their sufferings than grow rich by receiving their ransom." Ord. Vit. lib. xi.

† Ordericus Vitalis, the chronicler of this period, in

parent and child, which is among the strongest, as well as the most hallowed and tender of our

giving the history of the religious house in which he had taken his vows, gives also some particulars of his own, and his father's life, from which we may gather the mode pursued by parents in those days. At five years old he was placed by his father, himself a lettered man (i. e. one who could read and write) under the charge of a priest, for instruction in the rudiments of grammar; and at *eleven* was sent from England to the abbey of St Evroul in Normandy; where he was at once clothed in the monastic habit, bound by irrevocable vows and quitted the convent no more. "Pardon me, reader," says he, with touching simplicity, "if I give in this work some particulars relating to my father, whom I have never seen since the time when, for the love of the Creator he sent me into banishment, like a hated step-son. Forty two years have elapsed since that time; and many changes have happened in the world: I think of them often, and commit some of them to paper, in order to avoid the dangers of idleness: and thus, a stranger in a foreign land, I teach to youth the things which it is desirable to know, and by the aid of God make myself useful."—In these few words notwithstanding his protestations elsewhere that his life was a happy one, we cannot but see the human instincts struggling for their legitimate development: the son regretting the loss of a parent's care, the man restless under enforced inaction, and longing to be "useful."—The whole system was a mistake even then, and is a greater mistake now, when there is such ample work in the busy scenes of life for all who will do their duty conscientiously, and where such persons are so much needed.

instincts, aided in prolonging the general ferocity of the age.

While monasteries existed they were bound to offer hospitality to travellers; and the neighbouring lords, upon this pretext, often quartered themselves and their retinue for so long a time upon the monks, as to reduce them to great difficulties. Conscious perhaps of much injustice of this kind, the dying noble seldom failed to leave something to the neighbouring monastery "for the good of his soul," and thus by degrees the estates of the abbeys increased to an almost incredible extent. The list of the donations to the abbey of St. Evroul alone fills several pages. But these were not peaceably enjoyed: there was not a monastery which was not engaged in perpetual squabbles with the neighbouring lords, as well as their own vassals, who not unfrequently despised the men of peace of whom they held their lands, and refused them the customary suit and service. On one occasion two vassal knights having been especially troublesome, the Abbot of St. Evroul made them over to his cousin, a warlike lord in the neighbourhood: but they soon found the charges laid upon them by him so grinding, that they petitioned to be received back again into the

service of the monks, promising submission for the future and amends for the past.

Society at this time consisted of but two divisions—freemen, and serfs, for if there were any slaves they were a rapidly decreasing class; and it was now held “an evil and unchristian practice to sell men like beasts of burthen.”—At the head of the freemen were the king and the great nobles, who held their lands of him in chief, and were bound to do him military service: and side by side with these were the prelates, and heads of royal abbeys, who also held their estates in chief from the king, and were not exempted from the military service consequent thereupon.* These tenants in chief, whether lay or ecclesiastical, subdivided their lands to vassal lords and knights, bound by their tenure to serve a certain number of days at their own expense, with a fixed number of retainers proportioned to the size of the estate.

To the vassal and the serf, the service of peaceful churchmen was much less onerous than that of warlike lords; hence the gifts to

* One of the complaints made by William Rufus against Archbishop Anselm was,—that the men at arms sent by the Archbishop to serve in his Welsh expedition, were ill trained and incapable. Eadmeri Hist. Novorum lib. ii.

the abbeys were viewed with a considerable degree of favour by the people, who were thus transferred from a heavier to a lighter servitude, and the system grew,—as all successful systems must,—out of the solid advantages which it offered to the oppressed serfs, and harassed small holders of lands subjected to military service. The vassals of royal abbeys could only be called upon to serve in the king's armies, or in absolute defence of the monastery; and this last was not often needful, for it was seldom that the monks resisted oppression by temporal arms. The attempts of the neighbouring feudal lords to bring the abbeys under their own subjection instead of remaining tenants in chief of the king were the cause of most of these quarrels; and these were generally settled by an appeal to the pope and the sovereign. The rich prelates and abbots vied with the nobles in luxury and magnificence, but their more peaceful training in some degree humanized them, and though not always more moral, they were at least less brutally cruel than the ferocious lay lords, who had no occupation but that of war or hunting: and thus the age was in some degree a gainer by the existence of such an order of men, though it was very seldom indeed that they

comprehended their true mission, or saw all that Christianity had to do in the world.

There has been a very general misapprehension of the institutions of mediæval times ; some decrying them as mere contrivances of a restless and grasping ambition ; others looking back with blind fondness to a period which can never return, and would be a curse if it could. It is difficult, in a small work like the present to do justice to the subject, or to give a picture of the state of society sufficiently vivid to correct these misapprehensions. I shall perhaps best succeed in giving some notion of the times by sketching the career of the two remarkable men who held the see of Canterbury under the two first Norman kings.

Lanfranc, who was appointed by William I. in the room of the Saxon Stigand, was a native of Lombardy, and had become famous as a teacher of philosophy before he assumed the monastic habit at Bec. He was transferred thence to Caen as abbot, and sent for by William to England in order to restore the church there to better order, and learning. When the new archbishop " first arrived at Canterbury," says Eadmer, " and saw the church of the Saviour, which he had undertaken to govern, so devastated by fire

and sword that it was nearly annihilated, he was in great consternation : but though the magnitude of the evil was such as to induce despair, his fortitude did not forsake him ; and postponing all consideration for himself, he began and finished the requisite buildings for the residence of the monks. He rebuilt the church, which in seven years he completed from the foundation upwards, giving the requisite vestments and ornaments : and besides many other munificent works, he built an hospital for both sexes, outside the north gate. The building was of stone divided into two, for men on one side, and women on the other ; and proper attendance and nourishment were provided. At a distance from this . . . he constructed another hospital for lepers, where also he provided kind and patient nurses—" and not till all these princely charities were provided for did he think of a residence for himself and his successors.

In a country where there were neither inns to receive travellers, nor hospitals for those suffering under disease, these works were no less requisite than they were popular, and we may easily conceive the degree of affectionate reverence with which a man would be regarded who could plan and execute such works, while all was

violence and bloodshed about him. When Lanfranc died, however, the revenues which he had employed so nobly during his life, were seized upon by William Rufus, and during some years no archbishop was appointed. It was not till the king was so ill that his life was despaired of, that he agreed to nominate an archbishop; but his choice then fell upon the most famous man of his time, the learned author of the "Monologium." Anselm, knowing the character of the man, resisted the appointment as long as it was possible, till the king sent for him, and condescended to entreat him to accept it.* The bishops and lords who surrounded the dying monarch urged, nay compelled the unwilling philosopher to comply; they opened his fingers by force, and put the staff in his hands, which the king with many fair promises offered for his acceptance; and the writer of the "Monologium" in vain protesting that his habits of life,

* "Anselm what are you about?" said he, "Why do you doom my soul to eternal torments? for I am certain that I shall perish, soul and body, if I finish my life, holding the goods of the Archbishopric in my hands. Have pity upon me, and upon my lord, father; take the pontificate, the retention of which has been so fatal, and will be, I fear, yet more so in eternity." Eadmer.

his age, and his failing health unfitted him for the office, became archbishop of Canterbury.

William, however, recovered, and when the danger was over, thought no more of his promises; kept much of the estates of the see in his own hands, levied large contributions on the rest, and plundered the abbeys at his pleasure; so that the monks, having no subsistence, were scattered abroad. Anselm remonstrated;—the king was enraged, exclaiming “Who ever thought of keeping all his promises?”—he asked for a synod to remedy abuses;—the king laughed at him*—in despair he begged permission to vi-

* “He said to the king—‘My lord, I hear that you are about to pass the sea to Normandy in order to reduce it to your obedience: I wish you success in this and all other things, but I pray that in the first place you will take order that Christianity, which is nearly extinguished in the breasts of many, shall again be restored to its pristine state.’—‘How is that to be done?’—‘Command a council to be called according to ancient custom, to consider of all that is amiss, and apply a remedy: for there has not been a general council in England since you were king, nor for many years before. Hence many crimes are become rife, and no one checks them.’ ‘When I see fit to do this,’ replied the king, ‘it will be of my own will, not yours;’ and added sneeringly, ‘what are you going to talk about?’ To this Anselm answered, ‘The crime of Sodom has lately made its appearance in this country, is increasing in frequency, and has tainted

sit Rome for the satisfaction of his conscience :
but William penetrated his object, and refused

numbers; to say nothing of unlawful marriages, and other detestable crimes, so that . . . if your sentences are not more severe, or if ecclesiastical discipline be not restored, the whole land will become another Sodom'—
'And in this affair what are you going to do for yourself?'—
'If not for myself, I hope I shall do something for God, and for you.'—'Enough,' said the King, 'I do not choose to talk farther of this:—Anselm was silent a moment, and then turning to other affairs, went on,—
'There are other matters on which I would wish to have your opinion. There are many Abbeys in this country without shepherds, whence the monks, quitting the canonical rules, live in luxury and die without confession:—I pray therefore . . . that you will institute proper abbots, lest by the destruction of the monasteries and the monks, you should incur (which God forbid) eternal condemnation.' The king was greatly enraged, and exclaimed, 'What is that to you? Are not the abbeys mine?—Ho! you do what you like in your villages, and shall not I do what I like in my abbeys?'—
'They are yours that you may defend and preserve, not invade and destroy them. We know that they belong to God, and were given that his ministers might live upon the revenues, not that you might have wherewith for warlike expeditions. Moreover you have towers and revenues which you can dispose of as you please. Leave the churches what belongs to them.'—'You know the things you are saying are very displeasing to me. Your predecessor would never have dared to say such things to my father; and I will do nothing for you,'—

to allow him to leave the kingdom. Still Anselm insisted on going, and the king waxed

Some of the bishops were then employed as mediators, and advised Anselm to offer money to the king to make his peace. He had, it seems, some little time before offered five hundred pounds which William had refused because he thought it too little, but he was now inclined to accept it, and the bishops pressed Anselm to offer it once more; but he had given it away to the poor, and had it no longer, he said. The final decision of the king as reported to Anselm was as follows, "I hated him yesterday, I hate him more to-day, and shall hate him worse to-morrow and every day after. I will never hold him for father or archbishop,—I disdain his benediction and prayers: let him go where he will, nor expect that I shall wait for his blessing on my voyage."—Eadmeri Hist. Nov. lib.

It is curious that amidst matters of such serious import, this really excellent man should have concerned himself very earnestly about some new fashions in dress, of very innocent description. "The young nobility at this time," says his biographer Eadmer, "wore their hair long like young women, *combed it every day*, and walked gently and delicately, looking round them with irreligious movements of the head. Anselm preached a sermon to the people on this subject in the beginning of Lent, exhorting them to repent, and, cutting off their hair, to return to a manly appearance. He refused his benediction to those who would not." In the reign of Robert of France (Vid. Part iii. p. 190.) a saintly man was scandalized at the fashion of short hair and succinct garments, calling it the devil's livery, and telling those

wroth: a meeting or parliament of his nobility and bishops was called, and deliberated in secret: Anselm too called a meeting of his friends, both clergy and laics, and explained to them the cause of dispute between him and the king.* The

who wore it that they imperilled their salvation. Anselm was equally scandalized at the return to the fashion which the holy abbot of St. Benigne had praised as becoming a christian; for we find from Ordericus Vitalis that the long hair was accompanied by garments sweeping the ground, "whereas our fathers," he says, "wore theirs close fitting so as not to impede their movements."—There is an useful lesson to be gathered from these prejudices of otherwise good men—we may learn that the customs of our fathers are not of divine authority, and may, nay must be changed as circumstances change. Anselm thought salvation endangered by combing the hair every day, because his forefathers were uncleanly—let us not imitate his prejudices, and if we see a labourer in a superfine coat—or if a girl shelter her face from the sun by a parasol or a veil, cry out on the immorality of the age; but rather thank God that the progress of civilization is giving comforts and even luxuries to the poor which the nobility of William Rufus did not possess.

* The bishops, alarmed, asked time to consider, and "after consulting together gave this answer, 'Reverend Father, we know you to be a religious and holy man, and to have your conversation in heaven. But we are burthened by our relations, whom we maintain, and many things of this life which we love. We cannot, we confess, arrive at the sublimity of your life, nor de-

question as to the right of investiture, which about this time the popes had begun to claim,

spise this world as you do; but if you would please to descend to us, and walk in the same path, we will look to your interests as we do to our own, and make common cause with you in everything: but if you are determined to hold to God only we cannot break through the fidelity which we owe to the king.' To which he replied, 'You have said well, Go then to your lord; I hold to my God!' They departed, and he was left nearly alone." After a time the bishops above mentioned, and some of the barons of the realm returned to him with a message from the king, requiring him to give a pledge that he would not any more appeal to Rome, or quit the country. After delivering this message they returned to the king. "Then Anselm, saying but few words to those about him, rose, and followed by us (i. e. Eadmer and one or two more) went to the king and seated himself on his right hand as is usual. He then repeated the message he had received, and asked if it was correct? On being told that it was, he spoke thus: 'When you say that I promised to maintain your laws and customs, and faithfully to defend them against all men, you say what is true, but . . . I promised to maintain them so far as they were in accordance with the laws of God, and to defend them by law and justice.' Upon this the king and his lords swore that he had never made any mention either of God or justice: but Anselm, interrupting them, said, 'Strange! if no mention was made of either God or justice, what was mentioned then? Far be it from any Christian to pledge himself to maintain any customs which are known to be contrary to the

does not appear yet to have been mooted in England. Anselm had merely begged *the king*

law of God.' At this they murmured and shook their heads; but Anselm went on, 'you assert that it is against your laws that I, for the sake of my own soul and the government of the church committed to me, should require the aid of St. Peter and his vicar, and this I pronounce to be contrary to the law of God and unworthy of obedience from any servant of God; . . . we know that all faith between man and man is founded upon faith to God, for we swear thus to a man, 'By the faith which I owe to God I will be faithful to thee;' and thus the faith which I owe to God and his service, compels me to go to the head of the Christian church to ask his counsel for the church and myself . . .' Then the king and count Robert of Melun, interrupting him, exclaimed, 'Oh, oh, he is preaching a sermon: it has nothing to do with the matter in hand:' upon which all began to vociferate so as to prevent the good father from speaking, he sitting quiet meantime, and looking down till they had tired themselves with their own clamour. . . . After this he arose, and returned to the place he had come from, and immediately messengers from the king followed him, saying, 'Behold you are going: know, then, that our Lord the King will not permit you to take out of the kingdom any thing that is his.' To which the Archbishop replied, 'I have what is needful for riding—vestments and other things—it may be that you will say these are the king's. If he will not allow me to take these with me, let him know that I would rather go on foot and naked, than desist from what I have undertaken.' The king on this sent him word that he had misunderstood

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to appoint Abbots, &c. and William had refused to do so because he wished to appropriate the revenues to his own purposes. The same abuses had occurred in France and Germany : it appears therefore that the claim of the roman Pontiff had, as usual, the ground of expediency ; though afterwards it was itself a source of many and great abuses. The social wrongs which drove a man so conscientious as Anselm to throw himself upon a foreign power for redress, were

him, and that he had no intention that he should go either on foot or naked : in eleven days he should depart, and a royal commissioner should be sent to tell him how much he might take. This having been settled, all wished to go to our lodging, but Anselm, who knew how to possess his soul in patience, returned to the king, and said with a cheerful countenance, ' My lord, I go, and if it had seemed good to you to allow it to be done with your good will, it would have been both more becoming in you and more acceptable to all good men. But now that things have gone into contrariety, although I regret it as regards you, I shall bear it patiently as far as I am concerned, nor for this cease to be anxious for your salvation. And now, unknowing if we shall ever meet again, I commend you to God, and as from a spiritual father to a dear son, as from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the King of England, I bestow on you God's blessing and mine if you will receive it.' To this the king replied, ' I do not reject your benediction'—he bent his head, and Anselm, rising, raised his right hand, and made the sign of the cross over him."—Eadmeri Hist. Novor. lib. ii. p. 41.

neither small nor few, and all other remedies were denied. The king's will, supported by the swords of his licentious Norman followers, was the sole law, and the only hope for England seemed to lie in the spiritual arms of Rome. How great the license and oppression was, may be judged from the circumstance that many noble ladies put on the nuns' habit without taking the vows, in order to obtain the only shelter which the Normans did not dare to violate, and amongst these was the princess who was afterwards queen of England.

It was in the midst of a country thus filled with violence and rapine* that Anselm sought

* It was not in England alone that this state of things existed. When Anselm was on his journey, "a Burgundian noble, having heard that the Archbishop of Canterbury would pass, carrying with him immense riches," took a band of his retainers, and fell upon the party when they stopped for rest. "He called on them to show him the Archbishop; but when he saw him he was so struck by his aspect that he stopped short, coloured, and found nothing to say. Upon this the Archbishop addressed him, saying, 'My lord, if it be your pleasure I will give you the kiss of peace;' to which the other replied 'I am happy to be so welcomed, and to serve you, my lord, and I rejoice much, by God's grace at your arrival.'" Anselm explained the cause of his journey, and the baron "greatly angered with those who had excited him to pursue this man of God, asked his prayers

to raise the power of Rome to cope with that of the sovereign, and restore as he hoped, the rule of law and justice. He might well think that therein he was doing God service, and performing his duty to the poor people, whose especial protector he ought to be; for the evils they were suffering were patent; while those contingent ones which might, and did afterwards arise from the claims of Rome might seem small in comparison. Those who blame, and those who defend the church of Rome would do well to remember that its institutions were not a pre-contrived system set up as a stepping-stone for ambition, or an order of things handed down unchanged from early times: but rather a set of expedients devised from time to time to curb the savage despotism of brute force * not al-

and blessing, and gave him a guard through his lands to protect him." Eadmeri Hist. Nov. lib. ii.

* The decrees of the council which was held at Rouen to confirm that of Clermont, will give some notion of the sufferings of the middling and lower orders at this time. After naming certain periods at the fasts and festivals, when the "Truce of God" should be strictly kept, the decree goes on thus:—"and during all the weeks in the year, from Wednesday sunset to Monday sunrise, so that during this time no man shall assault, nor wound, nor kill another, neither carry off cattle or other plunder. It has also been decreed, that all churches and their ves-

ways wise, not always justifiable, but generally so far suited to the times that they found the support of the people, and owed their strength to this. It is impossible that any thing pertain-

tibles, monks, and clerks, nuns and women, pilgrims and merchants with their servants,—oxen and horses used in husbandry, the men employed in ploughing and harrowing, and the horses that draw the harrows,—the men who take refuge at their ploughs,—the estates of the saints, and the revenues of clerks, shall enjoy a perpetual peace, so that no one shall on any day whatever attack, take, or despoil them in any way. It is farther resolved that every male above twelve years old shall take the following oath:—‘I. N. swear faithfully to keep the truce of God as specified, and to aid my bishop or my archdeacon against all who shall refuse this oath, or will not observe it; so that if I am ordered by either to march, I will not hide myself, but on the contrary, will accompany him with my arms and aid him as far as I am able against them; in good faith, without evil design, and according to my conscience.’ The holy council decrees besides the excommunication of all who shall refuse to take this oath, or who shall violate this decree, as well as of all who hold any communication with them. The same anathema is pronounced against all forgers of deeds, ravishers, receivers of stolen goods, and those who assemble in castles to practise robbery, as well of the lords who from henceforth shall shelter them.”—Orderici Vital. lib. ix.

When excommunication was resorted to in order to check such practices, it is clear that the civil magistrate was powerless; and the people must have felt not a

ing to human nature can be immutable; and institutions must change with the changes in the condition of the people for whom they were intended. The church of Rome grew powerful by yielding even more than was right to the circumstances of the times; it lost its power by trying to perpetuate an antiquated system, no longer suited to the state of the world; but never in any two centuries have its pretensions been exactly the same.

Wherever a church is constituted,—and by church I mean a body of believers with their appointed ministers and ritual,—this must necessarily be the case; for though the eternal truth may be in its keeping, the men who are delegated to dispense this truth to the congregation are taken from the men of their time, imbued with the spirit of the age, a little altered perhaps by education and circumstances, but still influenced by the tone of those among whom they move. The action and re-action of Christianity on the age, and of the age on Christianity, has been going on from the first, and still continues;

little grateful attachment to those who extended over them this, not at all times inadequate protection. At any rate, it is clear that it was the only one which these rude times afforded to the weak and the poor.

every century gives its own version more or less pure, of the faith of Christ ; and every century pronounces confidently that *now* its institutions are perfect, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against them. The next finds many of the institutions unsuited to its needs, and the dogmata taught are mixed up with an antiquated phraseology not always intelligible—it probably, with the accustomed versatility of human nature, cries out aloud that Christianity is a worn-out system, and that something fresh must be devised : a great convulsion follows, rivers of blood flow, and what then ?—Man sits wofully in the midst of the desolation he has made ; he has set up idols, and they have not helped him ; he returns at last to his God, and finds that the Christianity which he had thought antiquated and worn-out, is in fact intertwined in the very substance of his nature, that he must love, and hope, and do, as Christ did ; and that in the attempt to tear away Christianity he must tear away also all that is good and great in humanity. He will then discover what he would have done better to have discovered sooner, that he has been complaining only of the institutions of men, and that the real truths of the gospel remain **THE SAME YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, AND FOR EVER.**



CHAPTER I.

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE sovereigns of France and Germany had long been engaged in a contest with the spiritual power on the subject of the investiture of benefices, and other matters in which the civil and ecclesiastical potentates were at variance. The glaring immoralities in the conduct of both Henry IV. of Germany, and Philip I. of France, gave their persevering opponents all the advantage they could have wished ; and Urban II. who had been raised to the papal chair by the faction of Gregory VII. had availed himself of the public scandal, to call a synod at Placentia to take cognizance of these affairs A. D. 1095. The progress of the mussulman arms in the east, and the wrongs inflicted by these misbelievers on the faithful, who sought to wipe out their sins by a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre,—had been set forth in strong terms by Peter the hermit,

who had travelled over Europe proclaiming the necessity of rendering assistance in arms to the Christians of the east ; and the vague expectation that some measures would be taken for carrying out his recommendations, together with the curiosity which such an event as the putting two of the potentates of Europe on their trial before a synod of bishops, could not fail to excite, drew together such an assemblage as had never before been seen on such an occasion. Two hundred bishops, four thousand of the clergy, and thirty thousand of the laity, assembled on the plain around Placentia,—for no building could contain so great a multitude,—and pursued their deliberations during seven days in the open air. Into this assembly of all that was great and venerable in the west, ambassadors from the greek emperor craved admission, and in humble tones besought the assistance of the latin Christians against the daily increasing power of the Turks : a tribe of hardy barbarians who, having been first employed by the effeminate Caliphs of Baghdad to assist in guarding their empire, had seen its weakness, and were gradually spreading their hordes over Asia, and exciting apprehension even in Constantinople. The ambassadors represented in strong terms the danger to other states should

these barbarians extend their conquests farther ; as well as the miserable condition of the Christian population : and their oration was listened to with interest ; many of those present burst into tears, and speedy and effectual aid was promised. The pope, however, alarmed perhaps at the enthusiasm he saw kindled, delayed any decisive measure by adjourning the meeting to Clermont, in November of the same year.

This delay, so far from allaying the ferment, appears to have increased it : for once, Europe had a public opinion ; and high and low, rich and poor, ecclesiastic and laic, were pervaded by one sentiment. The meeting at Clermont was more numerous, and the excitement greater even, than at Placentia : the town could not contain the numbers assembled, and, notwithstanding the season, they were obliged to betake themselves to tents pitched in the plain for their accommodation. Urban himself addressed the crowd from a stage erected in the market-place, and scarcely had he concluded his address, when the shout of " God wills it "—was raised by the assembled thousands : no consideration of fitness, of capability, of means, had any weight with the frenzied throng ; old men, women, and children, hastened to fix the cross on their vestments, no less

than the nobles and their retainers, whose warlike habits might justly render them more confident; and the peasant and the king for a few hours felt themselves equal. But unfortunately all had equally forgotten that a multitude must eat; that the length of the march through unknown, and untracked countries, would try the strength of the boldest, exhaust that of the weaker members of the undisciplined mass: with a superstitious confidence that God would fight for them in this holy war, and that death in this service would secure eternal bliss, all prudent considerations were cast to the winds; and without waiting for the princes and nobles, who were preparing their forces for the occasion so as to give a fair chance of success, and who did not propose to march till August, early in the spring of 1096 a mixed multitude,* led by Peter the hermit himself, poured forth into the provinces towards the Danube; committing innumerable atrocities, and suffering in their turn all the miseries which an immense number of persons crowded together

* “The poor peasants shod their bullocks, and put them into little two wheeled cars, in which they placed their small stock of provisions and their young children, who at every town they came to, enquired if this was Jerusalem.” Guiberti Abb. de Novigento Hist. lib. ii.

without order or discipline, must necessarily endure.

The history of the crusades need not be here repeated : Jerusalem was taken by the Christian forces June 7, 1099, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected king : but neither the art of government nor that of war were enough understood by the invaders to enable them to found a permanent kingdom : and before the end of the twelfth century, although the monarchs of France, England, and Germany, carried large forces into Palestine, Jerusalem was retaken by Saladin, the Turcoman sultan of Egypt. The crusades, therefore, cannot be considered as having had any great influence on the fate of the eastern world ; and probably had no other effect than that of somewhat checking the Turks in their first career of conquest, as the great victory of Charles Martel had done that of the Arabs. The effect on Europe of the constant drain of men and money kept up during this century, was much more permanent and important.

The expenses incurred by the great lords who carried their retainers with them to the holy land, were not easily met when commerce was in its infancy, and property consisted almost exclusively of land and its produce. The only mea-

sure that could be adopted by those who had not treasure in reserve, was, to pawn their estates to any who could or would advance money upon this security. In this way Robert duke of Normandy, who, at the death of his father William I. had succeeded to that duchy, now pledged it to his brother William II. of England for a large sum. William had no means of advancing this but by plundering his subjects : and accordingly he stripped the churches and monasteries of their sacramental plate, their reliquaries, and even of the gold and silver ornaments of their books.* The same violent measures probably were resorted to in other countries. But this gold and silver at no great distance of time† had been applied with benevolent liberality to the relief of the starving people ; and as alms-giving was one of the professed objects of the foundation and sacredness of monasteries, this profanation was viewed not only as a sacrilege, but a robbery of the poor ; and was unpopular accordingly. The pretensions of the hierarchy to peculiar immunities at a time when the churches alone afforded any hope of safety to the poorer and non-military classes, were not viewed in the light of encroach-

* Eadmeri Hist. Nov. lib. ii. p. 35. † A. D. 1033.

ments on civil rights ; for the clergy were their only defenders ; and even the most conscientious among these last might well grasp at a power which would enable them to curb the oppression of the strong, and make those tremble who were insensible to the higher claims of justice and humanity.

The death of William Rufus* placed Henry, the youngest of the Conqueror's sons upon the

* It was doubted at the time, and remains uncertain whether the arrow which closed the career of this monarch was altogether a chance shot. At the time of his fatal hunting party he was preparing to take possession of Aquitaine as the pledge for a large sum which its duke William IX. was anxious to borrow to pay the expenses of his expedition to the Holy Land, and this could only have been raised by yet severer exactions from the English people. The death of the king prevented the completion of this transaction. This duke of Aquitaine was a curious instance of the combination of superstition and profligacy ; after he returned from Jerusalem," says William of Malmsbury, " he wallowed as completely in the sty of vice as though he had believed that all things were governed by chance, and not by Providence. Finally erecting near a castle called Niort certain buildings after the form of a little monastery, he used to talk idly about placing there an Abbey of prostitutes, naming several of the most abandoned courtesans, one as abbess, another as prioress, &c." He was a poet, but his poems were of a piece with his life.

English throne: he had been the pupil of Lanfranc, and his wise government showed that the lessons of his master had not been thrown away. He lost no time in remedying the evils of his brother's administration: he appointed abbots to the monasteries whose revenues William had seized,—recalled Anselm; sought an alliance with the Saxon royal line, and confirmed to the English people the Saxon laws which were dear to them: * but such was the state of Europe at this period, that no law but that of the sword was available against great criminals. Whether in France, Germany, or England, though the lord of a castle should be guilty of every possible crime, still there was no remedy but to march an army against him, and thus the enforcement of the law was nearly as great an evil to the people as its breach. When Henry I. required Robert de Bellesme, the especial favourite of William II. to answer for his misdoings, instead of obeying the summons he fled to his estates, placed garrisons in his fortified castles, and set the king at defiance. Henry had to march in person at the head of sixty thousand men ere he

* The charter granted by Henry I. at his coronation is preserved by Matthew Paris. It forms the groundwork of Magna Charta.

could reduce him to obedience; and even then, in order to prevent farther bloodshed, he was glad to give him a safe conduct to Normandy, and there get rid of, rather than punish him. The energy and military talent of Robert de Bellesme soon made him a favourite with the idle and profligate Duke of Normandy; and he pursued in that country the same conduct which had drawn upon him the displeasure of the King of England. The great lords of Normandy and the surrounding country were perpetually at feud among one another, and in these petty wars, "many towns," says a contemporary chronicler, "were depopulated, and many churches were burnt, together with the people who had taken refuge in them." Robert de Bellesme was the most ferocious of all the Norman lords, and made it the amusement of his leisure to torture and mutilate the prisoners he had taken, after burning and devastating their goods and lands. The suffering and ruin caused by such proceedings, provoked the people to call the King of England to their assistance; he landed at Eastin; and, on proceeding to the church to hear mass, he found it filled with the furniture and other effects of the peasantry, who had brought them hither for security. The bishop of Sées then made his complaint, and told the king that "the

Churches were become the warehouses of the people, who had no other defender. . . . 'The assistants,' said he, 'can scarcely kneel before the altar on account of the lumber of goods and other things which are brought to the house of God for safety. Thus the church is become the asylum of the people, though she herself does not enjoy perfect security; for in this very year Robert de Bellesme burnt the church of Tournai, and in it forty-five persons of both sexes.'"

The chronicler adds that "the churches were burnt in many parts of Normandy, the dioceses were without believers, and the country full of crime and misery." Even after a battle had put the king of England in possession of the country it appears that he was unable to bring the great offender to justice, for Robert de Bellesme was allowed to retain his paternal estates, and suffered no penalty but the demolition of his castles. I have selected the history of one man as the specimen of a class, in order to give some notion of the state of *the people* at this time. Louis le Gros and his son both spent their reigns in attacking and, when they could, destroying marauding chiefs of the same description; not unfrequently, however, the criminal succeeded in defeating the judge.

E

The evil, at last, as is usually the case, worked its own remedy; here and there were found cities which had preserved the old municipal institutions of the Romans, as in Italy; or which had acquired so much wealth by commerce as to give their citizens a certain degree of importance, like the great cities of Flanders; and this example inspired other towns to form associations for defence against the pillage and oppression to which they were subject. These associations they termed *communes*, "a new and execrable name," says the abbot of Nogent, who wrote while the recollection of the fearful disorders which attended the birth of free institutions was yet fresh; "and it consisted in this, that all the inhabitants who were liable to a certain tax per head, should pay only once a year to their lords the customary dues of servitude: * and in case they should transgress the law, they should be subjected to a fixed and legal fine. If they complied with these conditions they were exempted from all the other charges and imposts which were wont to be required of serfs." These pri-

* In the towns as well as in the country the people were held to be in servitude to the lord: they were *his men*, and as such liable to frequent and heavy exactions from him.

vileges, which included a certain degree of municipal government, were bought from their lords by many towns at a large cost, and confirmed by charters signed and sworn to by the bishop and nobles, and, in several instances, by the king himself; whose concurrence was also, at least in France, purchased by liberal presents; but, in the case of Laon and some others, the privileges thus obtained were revoked after the valuable consideration had been paid: a want of common faith and honesty hardly credible, were it not so unquestionably attested.*

* Guibert, Abbot of Nogent, has left us a detailed account of the consequences of the breach of faith above referred to in regard to Laon. As it affords a glimpse of the state of society among the middle orders at this period, I may be excused if I give rather a full account of the circumstances. It appears that the bishops of Laon had for some time *purchased* their appointment by large presents to the successive kings of France: the consequence was that they were men very unworthy of their high office. One, Enguerrand, cousin of Enguerrand de Coucy, is recorded to have "derided all temperance and all devotion," and to have shown his disposition by the licentiousness of his conversation. At his death the see was vacant two years, and was then again disposed of to the highest bidder. Pope Paschal, who was then holding a synod at Langres, made some few enquiries as a matter of form into the causes of the election of a total stranger to the diocese, but was easily satisfied by

In Gaul, which was only subdued by the roman arms after roman liberty was gone, the

an evasive speech from the Abbot of Nogent himself, who had not courage enough to tell what he knew of the man and the transaction. The social state of the town was such as might be expected where the neglect of law and right begins with those who ought to administer justice: none could safely traverse the streets at night, and when the country people came in on Saturdays to make their purchases, they were often taken by stratagem, and compelled to pay a heavy ransom. The bishop himself having had a quarrel with a certain Gerard de Crecy had him assassinated in the very church, whilst in the act of prayer: and when accused of the crime, found means by presents to satisfy the Court of Rome so far that he remained unpunished. This state of things was so great an evil to the peaceable inhabitants, that, at the suggestion of the bishop and nobles, they agreed to purchase by large presents the right to form a commune, "and they," (the bishop and nobles,) "rendered more gentle by the shower of gold which had fallen upon them, promised the citizens, on the faith of oaths, to observe exactly the conditions agreed on. The king also was won by rich gifts to confirm and swear to this treaty. But who could describe what quarrels ensued when these very men who had received so many presents from the people, and lavished so many oaths in return, endeavoured to destroy what they had sworn to maintain, and to bring back the emancipated people to the condition of serfs. In fact, both the bishop and the nobles were actuated by an implacable jealousy of the citizens; and the pastor, forgetting the duties of his profession, thought only of destroying the liberty of the

municipal institutions of that state probably had never taken any deep root; and the easy forms

French people to satisfy his insatiable avarice; so that, if a citizen was called before his tribunal he was condemned, not according to the law of God, but the caprice of the judge." To complete the evils which the town was suffering under, the persons intrusted with the coinage, aware that with money they could purchase impunity and absolution, debased the coin so much that a number of persons were thus plunged into extreme poverty: and the bishop was induced by bribes to connive at this malversation. About the same time, having taken a hatred against another Gerard, he had him seized and thrown into the prison of the episcopal palace; where, during the night, he caused his eyes to be torn out by a negro in his (the bishop's) service. For this crime he was suspended from exercising his episcopal function; "but having by his words, and other means of persuasion, satisfied the pope," he returned to his diocese. He next, in concert with the nobles "and certain clerks" of his party determined "to overthrow the commune which they had sworn to maintain;" and with this view he invited the king to Laon for the holy offices of passion week, when he persuaded this prince "to perjure himself like the rest." The people alarmed offered the king four hundred pounds of silver, but the bishop and nobles offered seven hundred: the king sold himself to the highest bidder, "and without regard to his own oath or those of the bishop and lords," declared the charter null. Louis departed at break of day, "and the bishop said plainly to the nobles that they need not be uneasy about the large sum they had engaged to pay, for they ought to know that he could and would set them

of republican self-government had been entirely neglected even before the overthrow of the

free from all their promises, whatever they might be, 'and if,' he added, 'I do not keep my word throw me into prison and make me ransom myself.' The violation of the charter which established the commune of Laon filled the hearts of the citizens with astonishment and rage : all the shops were shut, and they prepared themselves against the expected pillage." The bishop and nobles on their part had calculated the property of the citizens, and required from them as large a sum as they had paid at first for the establishment of their liberty. As was to be expected, this was not borne patiently ; and forty men swore to put both the bishop and his accomplices to death ; a rumour of this reached his ears, but with a fool-hardy contempt for popular indignation, he paid little attention to it. The abbot of Nogent himself visited and remonstrated with him, but in vain. Suddenly a cry of "*commune, commune*" was heard, and the citizens, armed with swords, battle-axes, bows, &c. attacked the episcopal palace. The gentry who endeavoured to defend it were slain, and finally the bishop himself was dragged out of a barrel in which he had endeavoured to conceal himself, and murdered by the infuriated people. The tale is not told by a friend to popular rights, but even he testifies that the excesses committed by the citizens of Laon were but the consequences of intolerable wrong. The account of all the misery which followed during sixteen years, would occupy too much space : it was at Easter, A. D. 1112 that the king revoked the charter ; A. D. 1128 he once more confirmed it, and Laon at length enjoyed its hardly won municipal rights. V. Guiberti, *Abb. de Novigento*, lib. iii.

Western Empire: we can hardly wonder, therefore, that the rights now claimed seemed new and strange. In Italy the case was different: there the cities were jealous of their privileges, and when the weakness of the Eastern Empire had thrown them on their own resources for defence, the *municipium* with all the forms of republican freedom easily grew into a separate democratic state, scarcely acknowledging any superior; and from the end of the sixth century down to the time of the Norman conquest of the whole country, the towns of southern Italy had in a great degree maintained their independence. Towards the north also, the maritime towns, whose commerce gave them the sinews of war,—men and money,—had established themselves as free municipalities: and A. D. 1137, Pisa was able to send a hundred ships to the relief of Naples, when besieged by Roger the Norman, although its strength had been reduced by a long war with Genoa. Divisions among the confederates, however, made this aid unavailing; in the following year Naples fell, and with it the freedom of the south of Italy: the ships and the commerce of its ports gradually disappeared, as the heavy hand of despotism curbed both enterprise and exertion; and with a short feverish effort in

the next century, when the fleets of Sicily swept the seas, the greatness of southern Italy took its departure. Of the north we shall have to speak presently. Nor was it in France and Italy alone that these claims were made by the cities: in Flanders and in Germany, where the towns had grown rich enough to assume importance, they formed a militia of the citizens under their own municipal officers, and defended themselves, or aided their neighbours and confederates, against encroachments on their liberty.

From the establishment of the Northmen in France as settled colonists, Europe had been making advances, we can hardly say in civilization, but in a feeling of man's rights as a human being. In the eighth century slavery was an acknowledged state of life, which indeed entailed on the conscientious certain duties on both sides, but was held to be neither illegal nor immoral. Circumstances taught the lesson which neither Christianity, philosophy, nor humanity, had sufficed to enforce:—slaves could not and would not defend a country where they had neither rights nor property; and from mere motives of self-interest the lords created a more independent race. Three or four centuries later, when slavery was become a thing of rare occurrence, the traffic in

human beings was condemned by the writers of the time as wrong and unchristian : they owned no slaves themselves, and were not warped in their judgment by private interest : the natural feeling which custom had deadened, returned, and the sight of a man bought like a beast in the market became a revolting spectacle : but the serfdom which had in it much of the evil of slavery was still common, and what is seen every day wears out commiseration. The privileges which had been granted by the lords of wide lands, in order to have men located there, who were willing and able to defend them against barbarian invaders, were now grudged ; men-at-arms for distant enterprises, rather than hardy defenders of their hearths and homes, were sought ; and the ameliorations in the condition of the people, which had been granted merely from principles of policy, were rendered nugatory by the exactions of the great lords, who required large sums for the prosecution of their self-interested schemes.

The Crusades aided in bringing this state of things to a crisis ; for while the exactions were necessarily increased, the military force which restrained discontents from breaking out, was lessened. The opportunity was favourable, and

circumstances rather than any deeply considered scheme, led to the establishment of *communes*, this being in fact but another step towards the attainment of those common rights of human nature which are generally better felt than argued by those who claim them. Neither party knew exactly what was likely to grow out of these municipal institutions ; and probably the one hoped, and the other dreaded more than was at that time produced by the change ; but it was a step in progress, and bore rich fruit afterwards.

It is unfortunate for those who live at such a period of transition that the best men are very frequently the strictest maintainers of the customs of their ancestors : they forget that circumstances alter ; their childhood passed happily in the home of their fathers, under certain customs and laws : they have past middle age,—they do not like the trouble of change, and all has gone well so long,—why should men wish for alteration ? Their respectability carries weight, and even though their argument is wholly without force, their private worth is not : thus the evil which had already begun to be felt, is prolonged till it becomes insupportable, and then worse men are engaged in the movement, because the great mass of easy going, respectable people are,

scarcely knowing why, rigorous conservatives. We may often gain a lesson from the errors of our forefathers. I will pause for a moment to give an instance of the mischiefs accruing from this ultra-conservatism.

Charles, surnamed the good, became count of Flanders, A. D. 1119. His government was gentle; to preserve peace he forbade the carrying of arms, which were deposited in safe places under guard; and when any wrong was done, the matter became a subject of parley, not of violence. During a famine he fed more than a hundred poor from his own table, besides other daily alms. His subjects held themselves happy, and, considering the state of other countries, had cause to do so. Yet the count was earnest in maintaining his seignoral rights; and having ascertained by strict enquiry which were his serfs, took measures for causing all such to reside in his domain. But the citizens of the Flemish towns, although according to the letter of the law they were in a servile condition, were rich and powerful, and not inclined to brook the reproach of serfdom. Bertulphe, provost of the chapter of Bruges, had two nieces whom he gave in marriage to two free knights, thinking by this alliance to ennoble the blood of his family: but

one day one of these knights defied another to single combat in presence of the count; to which his antagonist replied that according to the usage established by the count, whoever, being free, married a serf, ceased to be free a year after the marriage, and became of the same class as his wife; and therefore he refused to combat with a serf, he himself being free. The case was brought before the count, and he having found by the testimony of the aged that this family had been in servitude, notwithstanding that the count's predecessors had never insisted on it, took measures for compelling them to acknowledge themselves serfs of his domain. The provost, whose family was one of the most wealthy and powerful in Bruges, was not a little incensed at this, and as the count remained obstinate in his determination to reduce them to the condition of serfs, the nephews of Bertulphe conspired to put the count to death, and affected their purpose in the very church where he was engaged in prayer and the distribution of alms. The consequences of this act were of course disastrous, for great crimes could only be chastised at that period by military operations which involved the innocent with the guilty. It is not needful to enter upon the details, nor would there be space

for it; and I shall content myself with remarking, that had this otherwise wise and good sovereign paid a little more attention to the common feelings of human nature, and considered how he himself would have felt had he been circumstanced like the wealthy serf-citizen of Bruges, he might have avoided all the evils which his obstinacy brought on himself and his people; for he would have seen that the serfdom of the citizen belonged to a period that was passing away, and that with changed circumstances arose the necessity for a change of laws. The wise statesman casts a prescient glance on the alterations which are constantly taking place in society, and legislates to meet the coming occasion; the lesser, narrower mind clings with unflinching obstinacy to ancient usage, and bloody revolution follows.

The failure of the Franciscan line in Germany, which made the empire again a subject of contest, and the death of Henry I. of England, leaving only a daughter to succeed him, led to wars which retarded the progress of civilization both in England and elsewhere. In order to maintain his power the usurper Stephen for the first time introduced foreign mercenaries into England, and thus added to the miseries of

civil war the license of adventurers who had no object but plunder.*

The capture of Edessa by the Turks, A. D. 1144, and the massacre of its Christian inhabitants, drew the attention of the western church once more to the Holy Land. The accounts frequently received from the French knights, who still held their ground there, of their difficulties and dangers, roused the enthusiasm and sympathy of their countrymen; and the preaching of St. Bernard raised it to an almost equal pitch with that which had first animated the crusaders. Louis VII., at that time young and enterprising, was among the first to take the cross; and after some delays the emperor Conrad followed his example. The immense force, nevertheless, which on this occasion were led

* "The garrisons" (of the castles) drove off from the fields both sheep and cattle; nor did they abstain from churches and churchyards. Seizing such of the country vavassours as were reputed to be possessed of money, they compelled them by extreme torture to promise whatever they thought fit. Plundering the houses of the wretched husbandmen even to their very beds, they cast them into prison; nor did they liberate them till they had given every thing they had, or could by any means scrape together for their release."—Malmesbury, A. D. 1140.

into Palestine effected nothing : that part of the military art which consists in the providing for and combining the operations of large bodies of men, was very little understood, and by the time they reached the scene of action,—exhausted by the fatigues of the march, and without any systematic plan for their campaign, they were in no state to act effectively. Of an army of three hundred thousand only a few hundred returned: the rest either perished on the march, or were cut off by the Turks in the innumerable harassing skirmishes which took place almost daily.

The expenses of the crusades both in men and money exhausted the resources of the countries which had contributed most largely towards this so-called holy war; which, however, was carried on with all the barbarism of the times, and was little else than a plundering expedition. The depopulation in some parts of France was such that contemporary writers report that scarcely one man to seven women remained. The statement is probably exaggerated, but be that as it may, it was among the gentry and their retainers that this depopulation mainly occurred: the cities contributed comparatively but little, save the money which was extorted from them under various pretexts. The time, therefore, was fa-

avourable for the assertion of their rights, and through the whole of this century we find the struggle going on with varied success in all those countries where the law was not powerful enough to protect person and property against the oppression of the great. But for the accession of Henry II., England would probably have been engaged in the same sort of petty warfare, but that sagacious monarch saw the advantage of making the general legislature paramount: and while the struggles for freedom in other countries produced only small separate republics, the feeling of the undivided interests of a great empire * grew up in England under the vigorous administration of laws, which, if not the best, were at least good for their time, and therefore satisfied the people. The cities had certain municipal rights even by the Saxon law, and these were sufficient for all requisite purposes; and the charter of Henry I., the confir-

* Henry inherited England from his mother; Normandy, Anjou, and Maine from his father; held Guienne and Aquitaine in right of his wife, and won Ireland by conquest. Europe had no empire so great or so well administered till the misconduct of his sons created dissensions. Lord Lyttelton's history of Henry II. affords ample details of this reign.

mation of which was demanded from all subsequent monarchs, seemed, even to the non-privileged orders, a milder treatment than in most other countries at that time. But the French provinces had not the Saxon law on which to found their claims, and Henry's armies were powerful, and thus it was that the same vigorous administration which laid the foundation of English liberty checked its growth in France. The towns in those provinces which were held by the king of England could not cope with the regal power, and he held nearly two-thirds of what is now France: hence the movement of the twelfth century failed to produce any decisive results in that country, for it had no general interest.

In the north of Italy, as far back as the reign of Otho I. the towns had received permission from the emperor to build walls for their defence; and as walls would have been useless without men capable of defending them, this permission implied also the organizing a militia, as well as the appointment of certain functionaries for the conduct of this force. In those rude times when no national law was recognized, the possession of military power generally implied its misuse: feuds between the cities ensued, and the strong

oppressed the weak : this is the usual tale, for were there no injustice there would seldom be war. Milan had deprived Lodi of its municipal privileges, and when the emperor Frederic Barbarossa held a diet at Constance previous to his journey to Rome, two citizens of Lodi appeared before the emperor, bearing the cross in their hands as suppliants, and entreated his interference in their favour. Frederic granted it, and wrote a harsh command to the authorities of Milan, requiring them to reinstate Lodi in its rights ; but the people, indignant at the tone of sovereignty assumed, insulted the messenger who bore his letter, and thus began a war with the overpowering force of Germany of which the results were for a time disastrous to them. The contest began A. D. 1153, and for twenty-three years that fine country was desolated by its effects : the barbarities exercised by the belligerents rivalled those of heathen times,—nay, when Athens lay at the mercy of its rival, Lacedæmon, however stern and harsh by habits and laws, showed more mercy to its opponent than the so-called Christian emperor showed towards the chief city of Lombardy. Neither did the bishop and clergy—how changed since the time of Ambrose !—take any steps for allaying the

savage fury of the conqueror ; who after famine had compelled the inhabitants at last to surrender, drove them from their homes in the middle of March, razed the city to the ground, and drove the plough over what was once Milan. But in that ploughed field he had sown the dragon's teeth, and ere long the seed bore fruit. The oppressive exactions of the imperial officers left to administer the government, drove the people to despair ; and woe to the governors of masses of people who feel that they have nothing to lose but a valueless life ! The cities made a general league in support of each other's rights ; Milan rose from its ruins by the joint labours of the confederates, and the merciless Frederic,* after having lost nearly his whole army by sickness in the unhealthy plains of Italy, escaped into Germany, A. D. 1168, with not more than

* Frederic caused the hands of twenty-five peasants to be cut off, who had been taken when carrying provisions to Milan ; he executed besides forty hostages whom he had received from Crema as well as six deputies from Milan. These acts might be authorized by custom, but it was not the custom of *Christians*. Still more barbarous was his order to fasten the remaining *child* hostages from Crema on the outside of his warlike machines when attacking the town, thus compelling the parents to slay their own children if they defended the city.

thirty followers. Of all Lombardy the Marquis of Montserrat and the city of Pavia alone adhered to his cause; and though one effort more was made by the emperor to subdue the league, the loss of the decisive battle of Legnano, A. D. 1176, made it so evident that the strength of the empire was insufficient for its subjugation, that he consented to a truce for six years, at the end of which time a definitive peace was arranged, by which the privileges of the cities were secured under the almost nominal sovereignty of the empire. The success of the Lombard league was the first triumph of popular rights: the people were no longer chattels belonging to a lord; they appointed their own magistrates, and formed their own laws, and though neither one nor the other would have sufficed for the complicated relations of modern European society, they afforded a sufficient degree of freedom to develop the mental activity of the inhabitants, and Europe owes its first instruction in commerce, in science, and in art, to the free cities of Italy.

The capture of Jerusalem by the Turks occasioned a third great crusade, led by the sovereigns of France, England, and Germany in person; but with no better success than the last:

indeed as military operations these expeditions would have been unworthy of notice, so little did most of them display of strategical art: but the consequences, though by no means such as were anticipated by those engaged in them, were important in other respects. At that period the nobles of Europe in point of intellectual acquirements were scarcely on a level with the country labourers of the present time: they had only vaguely heard of other lands, and knew scarcely any thing beyond their own narrow circle. It is difficult to conceive the immense change which must have been made in such minds by visiting distant regions, seeing new habits, arts hitherto unknown, different forms of religion, and—what is the most striking of all to those imbued with the prejudices of their forefathers—seeing them all fully persuaded respectively that their own practice was right, and all else error. The warriors of the cross exchanged courtesy with those of the crescent, and found that the qualities they most respected were equally displayed by men whom they had been taught to consider as fiends: they saw the members of the greek church earnest in their adherence to a set of ceremonies in many points different from their own; and condemning the latins as vehemently as those of the

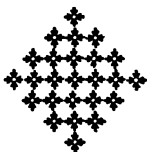
latin church condemned them ; and they could hardly avoid the conclusion that the views they had been taught to receive were not so self-evident as they had supposed ; or resist the inclination to enquire farther, which all these new ideas would inspire. So many of all classes had been exposed to these influences, that the very spirit of the time took its character from them ; and we find every where an inclination to question the doctrine and practice of the church, and to claim a far greater right of private judgment than any had attempted to exercise for many centuries. It is remarkable, too, that many of those who had visited Palestine returned worse men ; the stock of superstition which they had carried with them had evaporated by the way ; and they had nothing to supply its place. The good knight, if he ceased to have faith in the miracles of his patron saint, became a practical atheist ; for what did he know beyond the legends which had amused his childish fancy ? The position of sovereigns, which unveiled to them the self-interested nature of the hierarchical pretensions, generally had the effect of destroying superstition in their minds also, and the licentiousness so usual amid royal personages, told then, and tells still of this practical atheism.

It is no part of my design to chronicle events farther than they have had any remarkable influence on the destinies of the human race: the Christian principalities of Palestine, therefore, may be suffered to decay by their own vices without farther notice; neither does Richard of England, however famous in romance and song, deserve more than a passing mention; for he was but a straw floating on the stream, which, however conspicuous at the time, has no worth but that of showing the direction of the current. Brutal and licentious in an extraordinary degree,* because he had extraordinary power, he

* The character of Richard has been so spiritualized by clever romances that some justification of this sweeping condemnation may be required. A few facts may suffice to show the character of this pattern of chivalry. He had been made duke of Aquitaine by his father, but alienated the hearts of both lords and people by his cruelties and debauchery.—Among other charges he was accused of carrying off the wives and daughters of the first gentlemen of the province, and after having dishonoured them himself, *distributing them to his soldiers*.—V. Simonde, *Hist. du Français*, tom. vi. p. 36. And when St. Jean d'Arc capitulated, Saladin, having refused to comply with the stipulated terms, Richard brought out all the prisoners who fell to his share, and had them beheaded in front of the Sultan's camp, according to the letter which he himself wrote to the Abbot of Clairvaux, where he boasts of this exploit. They amounted

was a fine specimen of the man-at-arms of the twelfth century: we may well rejoice that the race is extinct.

to 2600. Hugh, duke of Burgundy, presided at an execution not less bloody of the captives which had fallen to the lot of France. Such were the virtues of chivalry!





CHAPTER II.

STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

AFTER the picture exhibited in the last chapter of the state of society in general, but little remains to be said of the spiritual state of the church: it is but too evident that “the salt had lost its savour,” and that the benevolent precepts of Christianity, which ought to have tempered the barbarism of the age, were far from being either preached or listened to. The scene is a painful one to contemplate: for whilst the great were inflicting the most merciless cruelties, the clergy generally—there were, however, a few bright exceptions—stood aloof, or imitated the tyranny they witnessed. Indeed, when they themselves were engaged in a fierce contest with the princes of their respective countries for political supremacy, they had no time for thinking of the wrongs of the poor. Even

if the power they courted had been originally sought in order to have the means of curbing oppression, worldly ambition had grown up in the interim, and the means were become the end. The style of preaching told equally of the decay of Christian feeling as well as knowledge: the plain precepts of the gospel were no longer insisted upon, and the preacher launched into fanciful interpretations of the least practical parts of the scripture, often to the damage of consistency and sense; as when St. Bernard brought Cant. ii. 13, as an encouragement to persecution; first determining that "foxes" were heretics, and next that Samson's device for burning the corn of the Philistines, by tying foxes together with fire at their tails, was a type of the actual burning of these persons.*

The licentiousness and tyranny of the feudal lords, who now that there was no longer any danger to be apprehended from the invasion of foreign barbarians, either turned their arms against each other, or employed them in robbery; and in either case ruined the peaceable

* Vide No. xvii. of this series; in which specimens of the style of preaching and way of thinking in this century are given at some length.

cultivator and merchant, led the better part of the clergy, like Anselm, to support the only power which seemed able to curb the violence of the time; and thus the papacy was elevated even by the very necessities of the age. When Anselm had resisted the tyrannical exactions of William Rufus, he had the people so far on his side* that the king had not dared to do him any violence; and the appeal of the primate to Rome was no doubt a popular measure; but once there he was flattered and caressed till he lent himself wholly to the pontiff's views. In order to understand what these were, it must be remembered that the sovereigns of Europe insisted, and justly, that where the temporal possessions of ecclesiastics consisted of fiefs held of the crown, they had the right not only to bestow these fiefs on persons of their own choice, but to demand from such persons the customary homage and service: and this right does not seem to have been dis-

* When Anselm was about to leave the kingdom in disgrace, and when the king was desirous to put him to death, a soldier from the crowd of people around him, advanced, and kneeling before him, bade him "be of good cheer, for the holy men of old had so suffered and been supported." Eadmer adds that "the archbishop was greatly consoled, for now he knew that the hearts of the people were with him."

puted till it was abused, and the investiture of benefices either put up to sale, or the revenues retained in the hands of the prince for his own use or that of his favourites. The consequences of this abuse were fatal to religion and decency: the most unfit men were often intruded into the episcopal chair, and the monks in those monasteries whose revenues had been thus seized upon, being left without subsistence, became not unfrequently robbers by profession, or if not that,—miserable beggars,—regardless of vows which they had no longer the means to keep: while the dioceses remaining without bishops, relapsed into utter heathenism: for it must not be forgotten that the great mass of the population, whether rich or poor, was utterly illiterate; and that, therefore, when the services of the church were neglected, no man was even reminded of his dependence on a Deity whose invisibility removed him too far from those ignorant and gross minds to allow him to be a subject of contemplation.

Many councils were held on the subject of these abuses, and we have already seen the strenuous efforts made by some of the German emperors to put a stop to the shameful sale of benefices; but Henry IV. of Germany and Philip I. of

France, both equally profligate, and needing money to support the expense of their vices, carried on the practice to a scandalous extent. Gregory VII. had endeavoured to found a spiritual empire, which in the plenitude of its power might have dealt with this question :—he failed, but the idea which had once been formed was not forgotten, and his successors, if somewhat less arrogant in their tone, did not abandon his pretensions. The investiture of benefices involving in it a spiritual charge, the pontiff maintained that he, as head of the church, had alone the power to bestow it, and that it was of him, and not of the temporal sovereign, that the bishops and abbots held their office; and to him and not to the temporal sovereign the homage was to be paid. Boniface, bishop of Mentz, as has been already mentioned, did pay that homage, and appears to have been the first who did so: but it seems to have been a mere sign of respect for the papacy; for the bishops, down to nearly the end of the eleventh century, continued to do homage in the customary form to the king when he bestowed on them the estates of their respective churches. Anselm had done homage to William Rufus, and had sent the usual contingent of men to attend him in his Welsh expedi-

tion : but he was now instructed that the right of investiture belonged to the successors of St. Peter alone, and his promise of canonical obedience bound him, as he thought, to comply with the mandates of the pontiff. When, therefore, Henry I. recalled him to England, and having reinstated him in all the possessions of the church of Canterbury, called for the customary act of homage,—Anselm refused to comply :—the king urged that he asked for no new privilege, that he merely maintained the prerogatives of his predecessors, which no previous Archbishop of Canterbury had ever denied or complained of ; and the matter was again referred to Rome. A long dispute ensued, but finally, when it was found that the king was determined, the pope consented to a compromise, which after a time * was extended also to the emperor of Germany. By this compact the act of homage was to be performed to the monarch, who was to confer the investiture by the sceptre, the pontiff reserving the right of conferring the ring and staff : and thus ended the obstinate dispute, which would never have arisen had not the sovereigns of Europe abused their power, and thus

* A. D. 1122.

furnished the pontiff with arms against themselves. The popes gained something, though not all that they had contended for; and the sovereigns lost even more than they imagined, for they lost the undivided allegiance of their people. The royal authority had been misused, and a portion of it had been transferred by the public will to another tribunal: for it cannot be supposed that the princes of Europe would have yielded as they did to the spiritual power, had they not been influenced by policy or fear: personal superstition might in one or two instances have its weight, but this was far from general.

The power of releasing subjects from their allegiance was another of the claims preferred by the roman pontiff; and this too had grown out of circumstances, and earlier sovereigns had made the scourge which their successors winced under. Pepin, in usurping the kingly power, which he might well have received from the people at that time, when election by the chiefs of the nation was essential to the royal authority,—required pope Zachary to sanction the change of dynasty by absolving the Franks from their allegiance to Chilperic: and this became a precedent for after claims on the part of the See of Rome, whenever the crooked policy of the pon-

tiffs seemed to require the transference of the regal power. In the age of which we are treating, this supposed right was exercised in the manner most revolting to the best feelings of our nature: for the two sons of Henry IV. of Germany were successively incited to rebellion against their father by the reigning pontiff, till the wretched old man died broken-hearted. He had deserved his fate by his vices, but his children at least were not the persons who ought to have been the instruments of his chastisement: and when the *soi disant* head of the church of Christ could not only sanction but counsel conduct so unchristian in the highest rank, we cannot wonder that immorality was widely spread; or that the people followed the example of their princes and their clergy; and viewed Christianity rather as a system of gorgeous ceremonies, designed to propitiate a God of whom they knew nothing, than the rational and heart-felt obedience to a Deity, who "is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," and whose service consists in love to Him shown through our love for His creatures.

The next contest with the civil power was of the kind that might be expected from a hierarchy grasping at temporal supremacy, without much

scruple as to the means by which it was to be acquired. It is not necessary here to repeat the history of the disputes between Henry II. of England and Archbishop Becket, it is told by other writers :—the point at issue was, whether the clergy should be amenable to the common law of the kingdom when guilty of crimes which would bring a layman before the king's tribunal ; or whether, according to a regulation of William I., which does not appear to have existed in the Saxon law, they should be brought before the ecclesiastical courts merely, by which no worse penalty could be inflicted than a deprivation of orders. The parliament which met at Clarendon, in the famous constitutions named from the place of assembly, abolished this privilege,* and required that clerks and laymen should be dealt

* This was not done without reason : William of Newberry declares that above an hundred homicides had been committed by the clergy in England in this reign, and crimes of other kinds, as thefts, &c. were rife, and “ the bishops being more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignities of their order, than to correct its faults, thought they did their duty to God and the church if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment. Hence the clergy having this impunity feared neither God nor man.”—Vide S. Turner's Hist. of England, chap. ix.

with by the same courts; and though after the murder of Becket Henry promised to abandon the obnoxious ordinances, the attempt to procure impunity for crime was too unpopular an one to be persisted in; and the resistance of the parliament to the ecclesiastical claims was pertinacious, and in some degree successful as far as England was concerned. The pretensions of the hierarchy had been supported by the people in many instances, because the power of the Church was often the only safeguard of the weak and the poor against the lawless violence of the great: but this last claim of impunity for crime was too evident an abuse to be listened to; and the covetousness, debauchery, and haughtiness of the higher dignitaries of the church, and the ignorance and vices of the sacerdotal order generally, notwithstanding the many bright exceptions which might be pointed out, and the many more which no doubt existed in quiet obscurity, had begun in this century to alienate the minds and hearts of the people from the clergy, and gave rise to many questions not easy to answer when theology and reason had parted company.

It is only in a state of complete mental slumber that the restlessness of inquiry can be entirely silenced; and from this state the world

was beginning to awake. The Arab schools of learning in Spain had already given a fresh impulse to Christendom ; and both the natural sciences, and the philosophy of the Greeks, especially that of Aristoteles, entered more and more into the course of scholastic instruction. Then came the crusades, opening a wider field of vision to the hitherto circumscribed imaginations of the warriors of the north ; and as always has been, and always will be when the human mind resumes its activity, the corruptions which had crept into the received creed of the people began to excite perplexity and doubt. This was considered as heresy* by the heads of the church at that time, and every endeavour was made to crush it ; but happily for the world these endeavours were ineffectual : and though many a

* Those who were characterised as heretics at this period, were differently named in different places ; but appear to have held nearly the same opinions. In Italy they were termed *Paterini* or *Cathari* : they have already been mentioned in a previous part of this work as *Paulicians* ; they were also named *Albigenses* from the town, of Albi in Languedoc, where their views were supposed to be chiefly held ; and *Bons hommes* in the other parts of France ; in the same manner, as at a later period in England, those who insisted on especial purity of life were styled *Puritans*.

brave spirit paid the penalty of independent thought in the flames kindled by a mistaken bigotry, the love of truth proved stronger than the fear of death, and we are now enjoying the freedom they purchased for us at so costly a price. The same thing has occurred often, for profitable abuses are never quietly given up, but woe to the country where reason and philosophy can be silenced !

It was thus, when the first theism of the world had degenerated into polytheism, that those who profited by a corrupt faith endeavoured to maintain it. No sooner did the Ionic school of philosophy begin to discuss questions of science, than the same acuteness of enquiry which was needed for examining into the laws of nature, was directed to the yet more interesting questions which belong to the relations between man and his Creator ; and this very soon discovered how much of absurd superstition lurked in the popular belief. But the philosophers of that best age of Greece were proscribed by the laws and persecuted by the people ; and priests and rulers triumphed in their success. The bold preaching of Socrates cost him his life, and the people remained superstitious and profligate ; but Greece, which had resisted, foiled, and finally subdued

the mighty power of Persia, sunk before the roman arms because it had no longer virtue or courage enough to oppose that grasping republic. Such were the results of a successful defence of a corrupt faith ! The world was “sunk in trespasses and sins,” and a greater than Socrates brought a yet purer philosophy before the eyes of the world, giving the last sanction to his sincerity and truth by a yet more cruel death :—again the children of this world, proverbially wise in *their* generation, but no farther, set themselves to oppose it, for they could see that a philosophical sect which taught that all men were equal before God, must, if widely spread and honestly professed, put an end to slavery ; and this in their view would be ruin to the empire. How could the land be cultivated or servants obtained if slave labour were to be disallowed ? The Romans retained their slaves and destroyed the Christians as far as they were able : but it was the true philosophy after all. Men *are* equal before God, and the barbarians could feel *that*, even if they knew not the gospel ; and, tired of cultivating the ground for others, and reaping none of its fruits, they at last incited their brethren to take possession of a country where the free inhabitants were too

few and effeminate to defend it. This was but another instance of the short sight of man as compared with the provision of God. He had given the world the real key to all the difficulties of religion and policy, in the filial relation of man to God, and the fraternal relation to each other which Christianity inculcates: it was rejected for a supposed worldly gain; but we, who look back with a calm eye on the ages which succeeded the preaching of Christ, can perceive how suicidal was the policy which rejected from all public charge the only men who were at all likely to exercise it conscientiously, at the same time multiplying enemies within the state by employing slaves rather than encouraging the growth of a free population. Ere the sovereigns of Rome received the philosophy propounded to the world by Him who "knows whereof we are made," its character had been altered by unjust severities. The Christian retained the courage which the hope of immortality inspires, but when every man rejected his fellowship how could he retain the feeling of universal brotherhood? and thus half the benefit of this most comprehensive system was lost to mankind. The Christian at last learned to look back at the polytheist with the mixture of apprehension and

hatred which man as a species feels at the sight of a beast of prey or an enormous reptile : the only question which seemed to remain was, which was to destroy the other. I have already noticed how the fiercer character which was thus given to Christianity tended to make its professors more eager as to its abstruser dogmata than its practical morality; even the gentlest feeling which arose out of the injustice which had been done them,—a deep and dear remembrance of those who had sealed their faith with their blood,—became a source of superstition; and when the final overthrow of the empire gave a race of unlettered barbarians the sovereign power, it is not wonderful that the superstitions of Christianity rather than its philosophy won their attention, and finally their acceptance. The downward course was then rapid: barbarians made the laws, barbarians filled the offices of state, and very soon, those of the church; and when the few who still had the means or the taste for study, died, yet fewer walked in their steps. Two centuries from the downfall of the western empire sufficed almost to wipe out the remembrance of letters from the latin world, and superstitions were taught and practised without any intentional corruption of the faith; for men's

minds were no longer capable of receiving a more spiritual doctrine, and thus it happened, that, when at last some gleams of light began to struggle through the long darkness, time-honoured superstitions were become dear to the ignorant people, and those ministers of the church who loved its emoluments more than its duties, could easily excite the multitude against the innovators who wished to reform both the doctrine and practice of the clergy. This was done in some instances so effectually, that the people themselves seized and burnt the so-called heretics, and even the saintly Bernard praises their zeal for the faith.

It is not possible to account for such a fact otherwise than by supposing that the original doctrine had been departed from so long, and forgotten so thoroughly, that even the conscientious among the clergy believed that the opinions of these reformers were new, and consequently unauthorized by Christ and his apostles. There was also a farther cause for the distaste with which they were viewed by a large portion of the community: those who called for reform were not always reasonable in their views, and seemed inclined sometimes to throw away wheat and chaff together; at least so said their opponents:

but there was so much of vituperation, and so little of proof in the accusations preferred against them, that it is difficult to arrive at the truth. One thing seems certain, i. e. that they taught that wealth and state formed no part of a Christian minister's rights or duties: and that the pride and luxury of the higher clergy was an abandonment of Christian meekness and self-denial.* This struck at the root of all priestly power, and even the best, when settled in a certain rank by a kind of prescriptive right, naturally look with an evil eye on those who seek to de-

* The opinions said to have been held by Arnold of Brescia, whose name is among the most celebrated of these reformers, are stated to be "that neither the clergy who had property, nor the bishops who held royalties, (regalia), nor the monks who amassed possessions could possibly be saved: that these things belonged to the princes of the earth, and should be given up to them for the use of the laity. Besides this *he was said to hold improper (non sana) opinions with regard to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants.*"—Otto Frising. cited by Baronius Ann. Ecc. A. D. 1139, viii. He had farther incensed the pontiff by persuading the people of Rome to re-establish the ancient republican form of government to be administered by consuls and a senate. He was forbidden to address the people by a decree of the Lateran council, A. D. 1139, and withdrew from Rome to Germany, but returning after a time into Italy, he was

grade them from it; nay, they would be among the strongest maintainers of rights which they had used nobly for the benefit of the people, and not for their own aggrandisement.

The general terms of reproach applied to all these sectarians was *Manichæans*: but no proof whatever is given that they held the distinguishing doctrines of that sect, which were taken from those of the ancient Persians. As a branch of them still exists in Savoy, under the title of *Vaudois*, we have it in our power to judge with tolerable certainty of the tenets of these persecuted people; and probably this accusation of Manicheism was founded on their utter rejection of the doctrine of human merit: Manes having taught that all material substance was evil in itself. The absurdity of the romish doctrine that man could do *more* than was his duty, and thus have a claim on the Almighty, perhaps drove the reformers into extravagant assertions of the utter corruption of human nature, and

seized, delivered over into the hands of the supreme pontiff, and by him condemned to the flames as a heretic, A. D. 1155. Probably his politics contributed more to his condemnation than his religious opinions, so at least thought Otto Frisingensis above quoted. V. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil.* tom. iii. p. 687.

thus a colour might be given to the charge. But of this hereafter.

We have already seen that the schools of learning established by the Arabs in Spain had become famous even in the eleventh century. Those who wished to improve in medical skill or mathematical knowledge resorted to Seville and Cordova, and either learned Arabic in order to read the books required for these studies, which the Saracen Caliphs had caused to be translated from the Greek, or endeavoured to obtain latin translations from the Arabic of the authors most in repute. It was through this double and unskilful translation that the writings of Aristoteles became known to Christendom in the eleventh century; even the text itself from which the first translation was made, being very imperfect. The difficulties presented by a writer always somewhat obscure in such a garb may be imagined; and they were increased by the lack of other books, and the prevailing ignorance of science. The learned annotated and explained; and all who had the reputation of acuteness were eagerly sought and listened to by students who had small chance of acquiring knowledge otherwise than by viva voce instruction. The first unfolding of the art of logical reasoning had

a wonderful charm for young and active minds, trammelled hitherto by authority; for during some centuries, and until the philosophy of the Greeks began again to influence the age, the opinion of any famous doctor of the church had been held of greater weight than any argument, however rational. The introduction of the works of Aristoteles into the schools of Europe changed the whole plan of instruction, and formed the commencement of a new intellectual era: and without trying to settle the vexed question as to who ought to be considered the founder of the scholastic philosophy, we may decide it to have had its birth from the moment that the art of logical argument became a part of the instruction bestowed on youth. Like all other schools of philosophy it degenerated after a time, and we of a later age have ridiculed the frivolous questions which sometimes exercised the acuteness of the schoolmen of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, till scholastic learning has almost past into a bye-word for captious and useless questioning; but this was not the case with the men who first entered upon the career of logical argument. I have already mentioned Anselm of Bec who, in his *Monologian* and *Proslogian* applied it to the highest of all subjects

with admirable force : to his name may be associated that of the no less celebrated Peter Abelard, who at the beginning of this century filled all Europe with the fame of his learning. In the writings of both these remarkable men we shall find much of close and clear reasoning, but scarcely any of the vain questions in which after schoolmen disported their intellect. Both employed their science in theological subjects ; but Anselm had the good fortune to live at a somewhat earlier period, before the ecclesiastical body had become alarmed at the spirit of enquiry which had gone forth, and his metaphysical works did not prevent him from attaining the honours of a saint, while Abelard one generation later was branded as a heretic for going over nearly the same ground.

Having already given a sketch of the theology of this century in a previous work, which is probably in the hands of most of my readers,* I need not go over the same ground here. The heads of a church greatly departed from its original doctrine shrunk with instinctive dread from the examination of its tenets by the light of reason : but though few of the philosophical writers of

* No. xvii. of the " Small Books on Great Subjects."

the time escaped ecclesiastical censure, the delight of intellectual exercise was too great to be given up, and the attempt to control opinion by authority proved as futile as it was unwise. Nor was it in theology alone that this spirit showed itself. The same habits of independent thought which led to the doubt of a theological dogma, led also to a no less severe examination of political questions: and the rise of free communes in France,—the league of the Lombard cities, and the struggle for a better and more democratic government in Rome, were but the leaves pushed forth by the same fruitful germ; the signs of awakening intellect, which, thank Heaven! has never wholly slumbered since, and it is to be hoped never will.

But whilst condemning the bigotry which sought to cramp intellectual progress, we must not suppose that the men who were most opposed to philosophical discussion were always swayed by interested motives. So ugly a vice as selfishness is rarely allowed to nestle in the heart undisguised; nor will men generally lend themselves to promote the views of mere worldlings, who are openly pursuing their own aggrandisement. The bigots of the age thought verily that they were doing good service to God and the

world when they burned a heretic : * and might and often did remain anxiously conscientious in the performance of what they deemed their duties, notwithstanding this great mistake. It is true that the gospel would have taught them otherwise, had they turned to it for guidance with an unprejudiced mind ; but who is there of the millions born into the world that ever wholly divests himself of the bent given to his character, and the habits of thought induced by early education ? Books at that time were scarce ;—the doctors of the church were held of paramount authority, and the mixed traditions of past time,

* “ Il ne faut pas considérer les persécuteurs des hérétiques comme des hommes essentiellement ferores, . . . c'est parceque ce système n'est point incompatible avec les idées les plus nobles, qu'il importe de le dévoiler. Qu'elle se garde, la faible humanité d'admettre des contradictions dans les systèmes sur lesquels repose la morale, de soumettre sa raison, et de rendre un culte à l'absurdité sous le nom de mystères ; qu'elle se garde de separer de l'idée de Dieu l'idée de la bonté ; ce caractère auquel seul nous devons reconnaître le maître des mondes ; car dès l'instant où les bases de la pensée seront ebranlées, le crime pourra s'allier avec les sentimens les plus nobles, et les hommes que le ciel avait formés pour la vertu, seront également prêts a devenir les bourreaux de leurs freres, ou a déchirer leurs propres corps sous les coups de la discipline.” Sismondi, Hist. des Repub. Ital. Tom. ii. p. 192. Par. 1840.

rather than the simple truth "as it is in Christ Jesus," were taught to the young student. The most earnest, therefore, were not unfrequently the most bigoted; as weeds grow highest in the richest soil: and we should do injustice to human nature if even in the midst of their aberrations we shut our eyes to the instances of apostolic self-devotion in men, who, however mistaken in their views, were carrying them out conscientiously.

A good instance of this religious heroism may be found in the life of Otho, bishop of Bamberg, who lived in the beginning of this century. Polizlaus, the sovereign of Poland, had subdued Pomerania and imposed on the vanquished the condition that they should receive the Christian faith, but during three years the conqueror sought in vain amid his own clergy for a man willing to undertake the dangerous mission. At last he heard of the bishop of Bamberg as a holy and zealous teacher, and applied to him for aid. The bishop, allured rather than terrified by the chance of martyrdom, waited only for permission to quit his diocese, and cheerfully prepared himself to spread the faith of Christ at the imminent hazard of his life. On one occasion he was struck down wounded, and his life only saved by the courage of the Polish en-

voy who accompanied him ; yet we hear of no base abandonment of his mission as too hazardous ; he persevered with a courage superior to all obstacles, and finally accomplished his object. Yet how strangely does that object contrast with the heroic fortitude with which it was pursued. He accomplished the baptism of thousands of barbarians till his strength was almost exhausted by the manual labour of administering the rite, “*ut albæ ejus,*” says his biographer, “*ab humeris usque ad umbilicum, ante et retrò, sudore manaret,*” yet he taught them only the days on which the feasts and fasts of the church were to be observed.* Strangely in contrast too with the preparations of the first Apostles of the faith were those of the Apostle of Pomerania. Rich

* “*Docentes eos servare unitatem fidei in vinculo pacis, instruentes de festivitibus et observationibus Christianæ religionis, de jejuniis quatuor temporum de quadragesimali jejunio de Incarnatione, de Nativitate, Circumcisione, Apparitione, Præsentatione, Baptismati, Transfiguratione, Passione, Resurrectione, atque Ascensione Domini nostri Jesu Christi; de adventu Spiritus Sancti; de vigiliis et natalitiis Apostolorum et aliorum Martyrum et Sanctorum,—de die Dominica, de sexta feria, de distributione mensium et institutione totius anni secundum Christianos.*”—*Vit. Otton. Episc. Bambergensis.*

vestments, costly vessels, and handsome presents for the chiefs, were provided, "that the gospel might not be despised for its poverty," and that the ignorant people might be captivated by the external pomp of worship.

Some misgivings perhaps arose in the mind of this really good man after his return home, that he had not done all that was needful; for at the end of three years we find him again quitting his diocese to return to his new converts; and this time he spoke the language of a true Christian pastor. He found, as was to be expected, that many had relapsed into their former idolatry, and that baptism had by no means sufficed to release them, as he had perhaps expected, from the bondage of their sins. He at last preached the moral precepts of Christ: "You are now Christian," said he to Mizlaus, the prince of the country; "put away, therefore, all violence, cruelty, oppression, rapine, homicide, fraud, and in short, do to no one what you would not have done to yourself. Set your captives at liberty." At this Mizlaus hesitated; "It is very hard, Father, to set them all free: for some are detained for weighty reasons, some for debts." To which the bishop replied, "that our debts would be forgiven by God as we forgive our

debtors." Whereupon the prince, "altius ingemiscens," said, "In the name of the Lord Jesus I set all free, in order that, according to your word, the remission of my sins may be this day completed:" and calling his captives he ordered all to be liberated. One, however, was retained, unknown to the bishop: he was the pledge given by his father for the payment of a large debt. The youth contrived to make his situation known to a person in the suite of the bishop, and then the circumstance became a matter of anxious consideration: for Mizlaus had already done so much that Otho feared to disgust his new convert by requiring more. He joined in prayer with his clergy, and then sent some of them to the prince to endeavour to move his compassion. For a time he resisted saying, he had already given up much, but at last, softened by their entreaties, he melted into tears, and going to the bishop he said, "Most holy Father, I will honour God and you His servant also in this thing:" and sending for the young man all charged with iron chains as he was, "all present weeping," he placed him as an offering on the altar, asking of God remission of his own sins as a recompense for the sacrifice. And so, "in the plenitude of spiritual joy," the dedication

of the new Church was completed ; all following the example of Mizlaus, forswearing violence and oppression, and restoring what they had unjustly taken away.*

The scene was one over which Angels might have repeated the hymn of the nativity, and it must long have cheered the mind of the excellent bishop, whose true heart had at last enlightened his understanding, and taught him where the true strength of the gospel lay. Never did altar bear so noble a sacrifice as that liberated youth : for the rude chief who made that offering, sacrificed at the same time all that his former life had taught him to hold dear, felt how much he was giving up, and yet completed his abnegation of self. Have we many even now who would imitate the barbarian Mizlaus ?

* Vit. Ottonis Episc. Bamb.



CHAPTER III.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth were marked by considerable changes in the different states of Europe. Henry VI. of Germany, who has won for himself an evil reputation by his imprisonment of Richard of England on his return from the Holy Land, had married the niece and heiress of William of Sicily; and after the death of Tancred, the illegitimate son of that prince, the emperor took possession in the name of his wife, of the Norman kingdom in the south of Italy founded by Robert Guiscard. A German prince was also put in possession of Tuscany, and the territory of Spoleto; and the patrimony of St. Peter was thus hemmed in on every side by a powerful empire, whose sovereigns were never very ready in their submission to the behests of

the pontiffs. This circumstance must be borne in mind in order to account for much of the subsequent proceedings in Italy, which entailed on that unhappy country the disunion and national dislike between different states which have proved its bane down to our own times.

No sooner was Henry VI. deceased, leaving only an infant son, who was soon placed by his mother under the guardianship of the pope ; than Innocent, who had seen with displeasure the growth of the German power, encouraged the election of another pretender to the empire, and threw his whole weight on the side of Otho, duke of Saxony, who was crowned by the bishops of one party, while Frederic, the young son of Henry, was crowned by the other. Otho visited Italy in the following year, and scrupled not to take an oath of obedience to the pontiff ; whereupon he was crowned emperor by him. This was the signal for a bloody war between Otho and Philip, the guardian of the young prince : but it is not my object to pursue the history of the struggles between rival potentates ; it is sufficient to notice in passing those which greatly influenced the fate of the people in general. Of these none was fraught with more serious consequences than the great quarrel between the

papal and imperial parties, generally known under the title of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which finally arose out of these circumstances, when Frederic II. came to the throne.

In England the death of Richard I. and the accession of John entirely changed the position and prospects of that country. Philip Augustus of France, an unscrupulous and able sovereign, succeeded in wresting from the new monarch most of the continental possessions of his ancestors; a circumstance to which,—however disastrous it might seem at the time,—we probably owe the confirmation of our liberties. The barons of the kingdom, who had hitherto been more Norman than English, were thus so isolated from all continental affairs, that they saw their interests involved in the well-being of England itself; and it is to the credit of these stout and not always very scrupulous warriors, that when they claimed from John the renewal of the laws of the Confessor, and the charter of Henry I. it was not for their own privileges alone that they contended. The great charter extends its shelter to all classes of *free* men, and its equitable provisions having most of them existed before the feudal system was introduced in England, tended greatly to check its evils, and prevent its farther

growth in this country. The clauses by which the "ancient liberties and customs" of London and other cities are preserved to them, show no less than the Saxon titles of the functionaries, that these liberties date from an early period ; and the municipal government which the continental cities attained with such difficulty, and soon lost again, continued to be the nurseries of freedom in England till the emancipation of all classes in later times rendered them needless, and left them, like many other ancient and little understood institutions, to the ridicule of men unworthy to be compared to those stout burghesses who were at all times ready to shed their blood for a freedom which they knew how to value, and which they delivered unshackled to their children and children's children.

When the people begin to contend for civil rights, it is generally a proof of intellectual progress on the part of those who thus put in their claim to a position differing from and higher than that of mere brutes ; for whilst nations remain in a state of utter barbarism, they seldom acknowledge any other law than that of physical force in its most undisguised form. The provisions of the Great Charter betoken a state of society which, although still rude, had at least in it the

germ of a higher civilisation ; for the determination that the laws should be equal, at least for the free population, is very evident ; and the demand made on the part of the widowed wife, that her sorrow should be respected, and that she should not be forced into fresh espousals, provided she gave sufficient security that the feudal suzerain should not be defrauded of his right, was at least a step towards the abolition of the sway of physical force, as was also every provision for the administration of the law by the king's justices, in lieu of the rude expedient of private warfare and defence. In the social habits of the people, too, as betokened by the arrangement of their dwellings, we shall find indications of a dawning civilization ; and a nearer approach to the decencies of life, at least among the higher orders, than had for some time been seen.

It seems tolerably clear that during a considerable period, and up to the beginning of this century, the dwellings even of princes contained only two apartments besides store-rooms, and perhaps a shed for cooking ; * and these, among

* In the Bayeux tapestry a sumptuous entertainment is represented, where the viands are handed up on spits from fires kindled in the open air. A bishop is saying

the northern nations, seem to have been roughly constructed of wood, and covered in with a mere thatch. The two apartments were, a large hall, generally with a raised hearth in the centre, where charcoal probably was burned,* which, as the windows were unglazed, caused no inconvenience,—and one room of equal dimensions over or perhaps beside it. The buildings in general appear to have been of the rudest description; for in an ordinance of John called an Assize, made A. D. 1212, on occasion of a destructive conflagration which had just taken place in London, when the bridge had been destroyed, it is enacted, that in order to guard against such dangers in future, “the shops on the Thames *shall be plastered within and without,*” and it

grace, and the guests are all sitting with large bowls in their hands, apparently drinking before the meat was set before them. In the Sages it appears that the kings about the Baltic inhabited wooden houses containing only the above number of apartments. The king and his counsellors being represented as sleeping in the same room.—Vide Hudson Turner's Domestic Architecture in England.

* As lately as the middle of the last century, the hall of Merton College, Oxford, continued to be warmed in this very primitive fashion: the size and loftiness of the building, open to the roof, preventing the ill effects of the carbonic acid disengaged from the burning charcoal.

is farther enacted that no houses shall be roofed "with reeds, or rushes, or straw, but with tile only, or shingles, or boards, or, if it may be, with lead." All houses not plastered within eight days were to be pulled down—a proof of their small size and rude construction. In the same ordinance it is required that in the cooks' shops the interior division,—"*claustra diversoria*,"—shall be taken away, and only the hall,—"*domus*," and sleeping apartment,—"*thalamus*,"—left: an evidence that somewhat more decency was beginning to prevail; as there had clearly been an attempt at separation between the guests. Probably these divisions were slight, and certainly formed no part of the original construction, or they could not have been so easily removed; * but the endeavour to possess some of the conveniences of life seems, as might have been expected, to have proceeded *pari passu*

* "The fashion of having but one private room which served alike as sitting and bed-room, continued for some time after the twelfth century. Thus in 1237 Edward I. and Queen Eleanor were *sitting on their bed-side* attended by the ladies of the court, when they narrowly escaped death by lightning. See Walsingham *Apodigma Neustriae*, p. 71, Ed. 1574." Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, p. 5; a work in which much curious information on these subjects will be found.

with the claims of the free citizen ; and the regulations made in London about this time in regard to those who chose to build in stone, show an increasing care in the construction of dwellings. The castles in this century instead of consisting merely of a strong tower, with two or three large rooms one above another, became quadrangular enclosures with various apartments constructed under shelter of the battlements, and traces of chimneys are occasionally found in the remains of houses of this period.*

Such being the condition of the houses of the great in England, and not very much better in other countries,† we may well conceive that the

* "Philip Augustus, the first of the kings of France who had felt any pride in the embellishment of his capital, and caused Paris to make a greater step in advance in point of cleanliness and elegance than had been made during the four preceding centuries. He had paved the principal streets, constructed market-places, decorated it with public buildings, and surrounded it with a fortified wall. From the commencement of his reign Philip had worked at the part on the north of the Seine ; in 1211 he finished that to the south of the river."—Sismondi Hist. des Français. Tom. v. p. 304.

† "The cities," observes the author above quoted, "were not inhabited by the nobility, and the merchants who had grown rich still felt the necessity of concealing the extent of their wealth in order to avoid exactions.

hovel of the serf was wretched enough to account for the fearful amount of disease which we know prevailed during these times. It has already been noticed that no very long time before the period we are reviewing, combing the hair once a day was held an unpardonable effeminacy on the part of even the noblest: we can hardly imagine, therefore, that any care of this kind would occupy the time of the poor, and amid the squalor, vermin, and misery of such a population, leprosy and other loathsome complaints could not fail to be common, as in fact we find they were down to a much later period, until the emancipation of the serfs and the progress of science removed the germs of disease by giving the means, and showing the necessity of cleanliness.

I have noticed already* that the south of France was from various causes considerably in advance of the rest of Christian Europe. New

Their houses, therefore were small and mean." The greatest progress in domestic architecture was made, therefore, in those free cities where each man enjoyed the rights of his station by fixed laws. The merchant cities of Flanders, Germany, and Italy took the lead probably in the embellishment of their dwellings.

* Part iii. p. 180.

fashions of dress,—poetry,—gay tribunals where ladies awarded the sentence,—all betokened progress much beyond the stern seriousness of barbarian life. Hand in hand with this advancing civilisation was much of licentiousness in morals: the poems of that age and country are for the most part too loose to be perused with any satisfaction; and we may reasonably conclude that the conduct of those who tolerated, nay approved such a style of writing would have a tincture of the same licentiousness. The life of the count of Toulouse after his return from the Holy Land we know was such; and the same causes would probably have like consequences among many of the nobles of these provinces; emancipated by increasing knowledge from the trammels of superstition, and not finding in the sacerdotal teaching of that period any thing to satisfy the reason.

But it is not in the nature of man to remain satisfied with such a state of things: the heart craves for something on which it can dwell with confidence; and, side by side with the licentious poets of Provence, there had arisen amid the middling classes a sect of earnest men who preached once more the *mortality* of the Gospel. Even among the nobles of the land they had

found disciples,—for when did truth and holiness ever lift up their voices wholly in vain!—and so numerous were the proselytes to the renewed gospel doctrine, that the heads of the ecclesiastical body began to be alarmed. Innocent II. had been chosen pontiff in the full vigour of manhood, and scarcely was he seated in the papal chair before he bestirred himself to check the progress of a doctrine which he rightly believed struck at the very foundation of sacerdotal power. Two monks were sent into the province of Narbonne to preach to the people, and report on the state of things; and this report seems to have been so little satisfactory that a legate was finally sent to excite the princes of that region to suppress what was termed by the pontiff a heresy of the most mischievous description. But the lords had many of them embraced the reformed doctrine; and those even who had not were far from willing to persecute to a cruel death numbers of their unoffending people, whose useful labours supplied their revenues. The legate met with no success in his mission: the sovereign count of Toulouse dismissed him from his court in anger at his insolence; and shortly after his departure, entering into some dispute with a Provençal gentleman on the treatment

of heretics, this latter, provoked by his language, drew his weapon and killed him on the spot. The circumstance was not unlike the murder of Becket in the previous century, but the count of Toulouse was less powerful than Henry II. of England ; and this act of private vengeance which no one believed the count to have had any share in, was visited on both sovereign and people with a rigour which leaves us to wonder how men who had the name of Christ continually on their lips could so overlook his precepts. The destruction of Miletus by the Persians, which has been remembered through all ages with execration and horror, hardly came up to the atrocities authorized and encouraged by men who professed themselves servants of the meek Jesus, who "gave his cheek to the smiters," and was "led as a lamb to the slaughter," without resistance or complaint.

• Crusades were the fashion of the age : the restless spirits of men whose pastime was war, were delighted to find their fierce enjoyments sanctified by the heads of the church, and even rewarded with the pardon of sins, and the promise of eternal bliss ; to subdue the simple Gospellers of Provence, therefore, a crusade was proclaimed against them by the unrelenting

pontiff. One of the most finished and most unscrupulous warriors of the time, Simon de Montfort, took the command, and A.D. 1209 a force at the lowest calculation of fifty thousand men, poured into this devoted land. To describe the atrocities perpetrated by this band of licensed murderers would be painful, as well as impossible within the narrow limits of this work, but we have still the history of this worse than Northman invasion given us by an eye witness, an ecclesiastic, who tells calmly, and as if it were a meritorious action, that when Beziers was taken the captors "put all the inhabitants to death from the least to the greatest;" and then set the city on fire. In one church alone on the day of the capture *seven thousand* helpless beings who had taken refuge there, were massacred. It was on this occasion that the papal legate being consulted as to how far the slaughter was to be carried, as there was risk of destroying catholics with the heretics, uttered the memorable words, "*Kill all; the Lord will know those who are His.*"

We seldom arrive at the true causes of events without studying the account given of them by the writers of the time: not that they themselves analyse their feelings, but they express them

freely, and in these expressions they discover involuntarily to the calm observer the real springs of action.* The religious orders had large possessions, they were a numerous and generally a united body, and so separated by their mode of life from their former connections that all the ties of human sympathy were broken

* Take as a specimen a few passages from the historian of this crusade who was himself engaged in it, and who seems quite unconscious of the turpitude of the deed he records. "Let us not forget," says an offended monk, "that the citizens of Carcassone when the town was besieged, like infidels and wicked men as they were, destroyed the refectory and cellar of the canons of their city, which were regular canons,—and what is still more execrable, they took even the stalls of the cathedral—and all to fortify their walls. Oh, profane men! oh, fortifications without force! worthy to be thrown down, inasmuch as they were constructed by the violation and destruction of the holy immunity of the house of God. *The houses of the labouring people were left untouched, and those of the servants of God are pulled down!*" A fine instance of the narrow views of men and things engendered by a monastic life.

At the siege of the castle of Lavaur, the bishops present and the venerable abbot of Citeaux, who there represented the papal legate with the army, sang with great devotion, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, "while our people were so vigorously attacking Lavaur that the besieged, unable to resist any longer, the castle was taken, *God having so willed and mercifully visiting his people.* Imme-

to make way for those of the caste to which they had bound themselves. The new preachers had again brought forward the philosophy of the gospel; and the philosophy would at once disavow the *soi disant* religious orders who attempted to serve God by doing exactly those things which Christ had forbidden. Yet we

diately Amaury (the commander) and the other knights to the number of eighty, were ordered to be hanged on one gibbet, but the timber being insecurely fixed, it fell, and the count (Simon de Montfort) seeing the great delay this would occasion, ordered the rest to be killed without more ado. The pilgrims (namely the soldiers) seized them with great eagerness, and put them to death very quickly on the spot. Farthermore, the lady of the castle, the sister of Amaury, a very wicked heretic, having been thrown into a well, he caused her to be crushed under a load of stones thrown in after her. Finally our *croisés*, with *extreme joyfulness*, burned innumerable heretics." And it was at this butchery that the Creator Spirit was called upon to aid!—a perversion of heart scarcely to be believed were it not so naïvely recorded by one of the actors in the tragedy. Take one more instance out of a volume full of similar ones.

The castle of Minerva having been taken by capitulation, with the condition that if the heretics became reconciled to the church, their lives should be spared, "Robert de Mauvoisin, who was present, objected that thus the heretics, for whose destruction the pilgrims had come together, would escape death; and resisted the Abbot of Citeaux to his face, saying that 'our people

may imagine that even good men who had spent their lives in reading and singing, might think these more worthy employments than robbing and murdering,—the usual pastime of the nobility,—and feel alarmed at a sect which so uncompromisingly put forward the Apostle's precept to the churches—"If a man will not work neither let him eat,"—and others equally unpalatable. We can suppose them mixing up their horror of busy life, after a long period spent in easy and often luxurious retirement, with a perhaps sincere dread that among the fierce warriors of the age, all remembrance of a God and a future state would disappear, if there were no monasteries to keep up the visible ceremonies

would not suffer things to end so.' 'Fear nothing,' said the abbot, '*there will be very few converts.*' After chaunting '*Te Deum laudamus*' in the cathedral,—the venerable abbot, *who embraced the cause of Christ with singular zeal*, hearing that there were multitudes of heretics assembled in a certain quarter, went to them with words of peace, but they exclaimed with one voice, 'Why do you come to us? we will none of your faith: we abjure the church of Rome, and even to save life we will not renounce our opinions.' From the men he went to the women, whom he found yet more hardened and obstinate, hereupon he had them brought out of the castle, and a great fire having been made, *an hundred and forty or more finished heretics were thrown in at once!*'

of religion. Few are enough devoid of prejudice to see any virtues in those who are looked on as personal enemies: calumnies against the Provençal sectarians were invented by the less scrupulous of their opponents, and to this day the massacres perpetrated under the orders of Simon de Montfort are excused, as being merely the consequence of righteous indignation against their vicious lives.*

* An anecdote from the chronicle of Ralph, Abbot of Coggeshall, A. D. 1201, gives the lie to these calumnies, and shows how cruelly these people were treated. "The archbishop of Rheims was riding one day with many other priests. One of them, seeing a young girl of great beauty alone in a vineyard, alighted, and accosted her at once with a proposal that she should surrender her chastity to him. The reply was a negative, as became a modest young woman; and she added that she knew well that if she forfeited her purity nothing remained for her but eternal damnation. The priest *on hearing this knew immediately that she belonged to the impious sect of publicans*, (one of the many names given to these reformers) who about this time were sought for and punished everywhere, and whom Philip, count of Flanders, especially *with a just cruelty condemned to death without mercy*. While the priest was still conversing with this young girl, 'and striving to convince her of her error,' the archbishop came up; and hearing the subject of the conversation, i. e. immodest proposals on the side of the priest, and a modest rejection of them on the part of the young woman,—he ordered her to be arrested and carried to

The persecution of these unfortunate people ceased not till these fair provinces were desolated, and the progress of civilization in those regions effectually checked. Heresy was extirpated in Provence because the heretics were exterminated; but the province never recovered from the consequences of this inhuman crusade. Still, as in the time of Tertullianus, "*semen est sanguis Christianorum*," and the desolation of Provence, its smoking ruins and crumbling habitations reeking with the blood of the slaughtered inhabitants, gave a lesson to the world. None could now shut their eyes to the fact that the lessons of Christ were NOT taught by the

prison: and she, and the schoolmistress whom she had imprudently named, *were condemned to the flames*: the one for resisting, the other for having taught her so to do,—the unchaste proposals of a man bound by his vows to strict continence. The schoolmistress escaped from prison;—the poor girl, the victim of a nefarious system, submitted to her fate without a tear, consoled no doubt by the promise of One who fails none who trust in him, that '*The pure in heart shall see God.*'" That this poor victim was recognized at once as one of the much hated sect by her persevering refusal to commit an impure act, shows that their purity of life was well known, and the calumnies raised against them therefore must have been known to be such. See for farther information Sismondi *Hist. des Français*. Tom. vi. p. 100.

church of Rome:—the discrepancy was patent;—those who ran could read it, and the measures which were meant to establish ecclesiastical power only aided in awakening the people to a sense of their wrongs, and rendered the cry for their redress louder and more enduring. Mankind were beginning to discover that during the darkness of the night the gospel had been filched from them; and the demand for its restoration grew fiercer, and the struggle more obstinate, when the robber attempted to defend his fraud by violence. The blood which sank into the saturated earth of Beziers gained a voice for after times, and the destruction of Provence was the birth-throe of the Reformation.

I must not here pause to speak of the capture of Constantinople by the latin crusaders, who for a time held that weak empire under their sway. The events in that quarter of the world exercised little influence on the state of man generally: nor, for the same reason, must more time be bestowed on the sudden eruption and conquests of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghis or Zinghis Khan. Like other Asiatic hordes, the Moguls were too barbarous to consolidate a durable empire: and the vices of the administration lost much of the power which a

ferocious bravery had won. We return, therefore, to the apparently smaller, yet as regards the progress of mankind, infinitely greater interests of the European family of nations.

The advance of these barbarian hordes was checked by the courage and warlike skill of the Germans. Frederic II. addressed a letter to the princes of Europe claiming their aid; and lost no time in opposing the invaders. Neustadt in Austria was defended against the whole barbarian force by sixty knights and twenty crossbows only, with such obstinacy and spirit that, having now had experience of the Teutonic warfare, the approach of a German army alarmed the Moguls so much that they retreated; and the greater part of Europe was saved from the calamity of an invasion, which would probably have swept away in its ravages all remains of ancient science and civilisation.

Frederic II. of Germany had been educated in Italy, and was well-skilled in the learning of his times, and, but for the difficulties in the first part of his reign, from a disputed succession, and in the latter part, from the unreasonable pretensions of the See of Rome, he might have given a yet greater impulse to his age. It was by his care that the writings of Aristoteles were

introduced into the schools of Germany; * and with a wise toleration, after he had subdued the Saracens in Sicily, he transplanted colonies of them into Apulia, so as to render them useful subjects of his crown. But the papal pretensions never could accord with the views of a wise temporal sovereign, and Frederic's path was soon crossed by Honorius III. the successor, and afterwards by Gregory IX. the nephew of Innocent III. his unfaithful guardian. Frederic, either in a moment of enthusiasm at his coronation, or in order to conciliate the pope, had

* Frederic himself was one of the earliest cultivators of the Italian language, which was at first called the Sicilian. Some verses, supposed to have been composed by him about A. D. 1212, are still extant, and are among the most ancient known in that tongue. His sons, and his minister Pietro della vigna were all poets, and patrons of the art. Vide Sismondi Hist. Rep. Ital. Tom. ii. p. 200. This last is said to have been the author of a work whose title shows how the Christian religion itself had suffered in men's minds from the corruptions introduced during darker ages. It was entitled "The three impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mahomet," and his master was also suspected of partaking in his opinions. The ecclesiastics of that day found the reform of the abuses which had thus brought discredit on their Lord much more difficult than the burning of those who had been disgusted by unreasonable doctrines and immoral practice, and accordingly they chose the latter plan.

vowed to proceed with an army to the Holy Land : his maturer judgment showed him that the evils likely to result from his absence were great, the benefit to the Christians of Palestine very problematical, and he consequently sought to delay, and probably to avoid if possible, the fulfilment of his vow. Honorius, who found this active young monarch difficult to manage, and who like the other popes viewed mundane affairs only in their relation to the See of Rome, was anxious to distinguish his pontificate by a successful crusade, and hardly less eager to procure the absence of so enterprising a prince, whose administrative and military talents rendered him a dangerous neighbour. Hence he urged him with great importunity to fulfil his promise, but dying ere the emperor's affairs admitted of his leaving his dominions, Gregory IX. took the matter up with an intemperate zeal which soon produced a total breach. The weapons of the papacy, excommunication, and the release of his subjects from their allegiance, were tried : but these seldom succeeded but with imbecile princes, and served only to mark the *animus* of the ecclesiastical power, and consequently to alienate rather than subdue the secular princes of Christendom. Frederic at last

visited the Holy Land, but finding the cause of the latin Christians hopeless, and his own successes neutralised by the persevering enmity of the pontiff, he made the best peace with the Sultan which under the circumstances was possible, and returned. This was a fresh offence, and he was stigmatized as a Mohammedan by the pontiff, and his throne offered to the brother of the king of France; which step however only produced a sharp reproof from Louis, and an embassy to Frederic to inform him of what had passed. Frederic, astonished, holding up his hands towards heaven, exclaimed with tears, "I am a Christian, and believe all the articles of the catholic faith. Let God, the God of vengeance, give him his reward:" adding the accusation against the pope of conspiring with his enemies.

To understand this accusation we must go back a little. It will be remembered that the grandfather of this emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, had been engaged in a contest with the leagued cities of Lombardy in which he had been worsted, and the cities had remained nearly independent. The remembrance of imperial oppression and cruelty was still fresh, and the rivalry which always arises between equals, rendered these small republics,—for such they

were in fact,—jealous of each other, and ready to take opposing parties. It was, therefore, not difficult to raise up an anti-imperial faction with or without present cause ; and the popes found ready allies in these cities : Milan especially had reason to hate the imperial party, and distinguished itself by its determined disregard of all Frederic's mandates.*

It was much for the municipalities, which aimed at complete independence, to have the supreme pontiff on their side, and accordingly we find them committing the inconsistency of claiming the power of ruling themselves according to the will of the people, and yet submitting to the dictates of the court of Rome in matters of religion : in consequence of which the persecutions of Provence were imitated in the free cities of Italy. “ On the twelfth of January, 1228, the assembly of the people convoked at Milan pro-

* When Frederic II. demanded to be crowned king of Lombardy as his predecessors had been, the Milanese refused to produce the crown which was in their keeping. Not long afterwards, at the instigation of Gregory IX. they offered it to Henry, the emperor's son, as a bribe to engage him in rebellion against his father. The crushing defeat sustained by the Milanese after this was therefore well deserved.

nounced sentence of exile and confiscation against heretics. In 1231 the Milanese published a yet severer edict, which had been sent them by the pope, and finally, two years later, the fires of the inquisition were kindled for the first time in Milan, and the podesta Oldradus di Tresseno, who built the palace where the public archives are still kept, put up on the façade of the palace, under the bas-relief which represents him on horseback, an inscription announcing that *he had been the first to fulfil the duty of burning heretics.** The dominican friars were the great promoters of this cruel butchery: they went from city to city preaching to the people, and exciting them "to avenge the honour of God and form private societies for the extirpation of heretics." Alas! when will men learn that an Omnipotent Deity who himself bears with his mistaken children, requires no such service at their hands, and that the rain which falls, and the sun which shines alike on the evil and the good are the exponents of his will, and the symbols of that system of mercy from which HE never departs.

One singular example, nevertheless, showed what might have been the power of real Chris-

* Sismondi Hist. des Rep. Ital. Tom. ii. p. 131.

tianity, had it been appealed to, even in this rude age. On the twenty-eighth of August 1233 might have been seen on the plain of Paquara, not far from Verona, an assembly from the surrounding districts amounting to nearly four hundred thousand. The people of Verona, Mantua, Brescia, Padua, and Vicenza were there with their magistrates and their caroccios: the citizens of Treviso, Venice, Ferrara, Modena, Parma, and Bologna were ranged around their respective standards:—the bishops and lords of the country were there at the head of their vassals. Was this meeting of hostile factions to terminate in a bloody engagement between the rival forces? No, they are in the garb of peace, and in the midst of them a dominican friar,* raised on a high pulpit, preaches from the text, “Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you.” He tells them what Christ came to teach, and commands them in the name of God and the church to lay aside their enmities, and become Christians in heart: and the hereditary foes of long years might be seen melted by the fervid eloquence of the preacher, grasping hands

* Friar John of Vicenza: he had preached in several cities with extraordinary success previous to the assembly at Paquara.

which till now had been felt only under the iron gripe of the gauntlet, and with tears of repentance and joy, vowing a general pacification. It is grievous that such a scene should be only a transient glory,—a flash, but seen and gone; such, however, was the case. The extraordinary success which attended the preaching of this remarkable man was too great to be borne with equanimity probably, by any one not thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the gospel; at any rate he did not so bear it, but took advantage of the reverence with which he was regarded to arrogate to himself the sovereign power first in Vicenza and afterwards in Verona and other places. In this latter city he condemned, solely on his own authority, sixty heretics of the most respectable families in the place, whom he caused to be burnt: and otherwise altered the laws of the city. His tyranny undid what his eloquence had done: the citizens of Vicenza rebelled, and took him prisoner; and though he was afterwards set free at the request of the pope, he never recovered his power; and the whole tale remains merely to point a lesson for future times.

Unfortunately all instinctive impulses are necessarily transitory; and though calm reason would have approved all that Friar John had

urged on the Christian duty of peace and forgiveness, the pacification was the result of enthusiastic emotion only : accordingly when the emotion was past the old habits returned, and the warfare of the Guelph and Ghibeline families continued with unabated fury ; still farther envenomed by the practices of the pontiff, who scrupled not to cherish the discord which was filling Italy with violence and bloodshed, in order to heighten the power of the See of Rome by lessening that of the emperor. Whilst Frederic lived, however, his talent and activity supported the imperial dignity ; but fatigue and anxiety wore out his strength, and disease effected what conspiracy could not. Innocent IV. had the triumph of outliving his quondam friend and patron : but his conduct towards this great prince did but heighten the disgust already beginning to be felt at the unreasonable pretensions of the sacerdotal order in general, and the supreme pontiff in particular. Frederic was excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance in a packed council of little more than a hundred individuals. This was followed by a conspiracy for his assassination, said by the detected conspirators to have been authorized and encouraged by Innocent. Frederic pro-

claimed his wrongs to all the princes of Europe ; and " these letters," observes the chronicler, himself a monk, " greatly alienated the hearts of those who received them from the pope : for they justly feared the pride of the roman see, if it should be successful in overcoming Frederic."* But the events of the troubled though able reign of this great monarch must be sought elsewhere.† The exclamation of Taddeo di Suessa, the emperor's ambassador at the council above mentioned, after his representations had been disregarded, was well justified by the result. " It is a day of trouble and darkness," said he, striking his breast as the assembled prelates extinguished their lighted tapers, adding, " Now will heretics multiply, and the Tartars

* Shortly after this Frederic lost a son to whom he was much attached, and was himself at the same time attacked with sickness. Softened by affliction he " offered honourable terms of peace to the pope : but he, rejoiced at the adversity of the emperor, would not accept his offer : on account of which he incurred the indignation and hatred of the nobility, who sought to console Frederic, and adhered to his party, detesting the haughtiness of the ' servant of the servants of God.'"—*Matt. Paris, A. D. 1249.*

† The events of this period will be found very ably given in the " *Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du moyen age,*" by M. de Sismondi.

prevail." The conquests of the Turks, and the troublous times of the Reformation gave this exclamation the appearance of a prophecy, though to a clear-sighted man there was ample ground in what was just done for forming such a conclusion.* One thing deserves notice ere we take our leave of Frederic, as a proof of the increasing civilisation of the age. When the emperor at the siege of Parma endeavoured to strike terror into the minds of the citizens by the execution of several of his prisoners, the soldiers of Pavia refused to fulfil his orders, saying, "We came to fight these men in arms, and in the open field, not to become their executioners." The emperor acquiesced, and the lives of the remaining prisoners were saved. No such scruples troubled the soldiers of Richard Cœur de Lion, and if they had he would himself have taken the office they refused. It is only in noting such facts that we can arrive at a notion of the state of feeling among the masses of the people.

The death of Frederic led to the partition of his dominions among his sons, and thus weakened the chain of iron which had been gradually drawn

* V. Matthew Paris, in loc.

round the territory of the papal see. It wanted now but a slight effort to break it, and that was immediately made by Innocent IV., who at once wrote to the bishops of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, signifying that he took the administration of its affairs under his own immediate direction as feudal suzerain. Conrad, the son of the late emperor, marched into Italy to reduce Naples to his obedience; but shortly after died there, leaving only a son of three years old, who was soon dispossessed of his patrimony by his uncle Mainfroy or Manfred, to whom the regency of the kingdom had been entrusted.

The policy of the see of Rome was the same whoever wore the tiara: and the death of Innocent IV. did not put a stop to the contest between the secular and the ecclesiastical rulers. Manfred soon became powerful enough to give umbrage to the then pontiff, Urban IV.; and having failed in persuading the English to undertake the conquest of Sicily, Urban offered it, A. D. 1263, to Charles of Anjou, brother of the king of France, as a fief of the holy see. The gift was accepted; Charles marched into Italy with a large army, and having encountered and slain Manfred in a general engagement, made himself master of the kingdom. How he ruled,

the Sicilian Vespers may tell.* It was in 1265 that Clement IV., the successor of Urban, published the bull by which "the kingdom of Sicily and all the territory extending from the Straits of Messina to the confines of the States of the Church, with the exception of Benevento, were ceded to Charles of Anjou, to be held in fief of the church, in consideration of an annual tribute of eight thousand ounces of gold, and military service when required." From this time till A. D. 1282 the unhappy people suffered the exactions and tyranny of the French prince and his rapacious followers without any very serious resistance, though measures were taken by some of the Sicilians to recover the liberty which they had lost. Constance, the daughter of Manfred, had married the king of Arragon, and to this monarch they applied for aid, but accident hastened the catastrophe. An insult offered by a Frenchman to a young woman at Palermo, excited a sudden fury among the people, already pushed to the utmost point of endurance, and a general massacre of the foreigners ensued: yet

* A work has been lately published which will render any details on this subject unnecessary. It is entitled, *The History of the Sicilian Vespers*, by Michele Amari, translated into English 1850.

even this massacre was not indiscriminating, for in the midst of the madness of revenge, one noble Frenchman who had never given cause of offence was guarded and removed with all honour to a place of safety, together with his family. A fact equally honourable to the insurgents, and to him who could thus command their respect.

Charles was at Rome when the news arrived, and he lost no time in collecting force, to reduce the island again to his obedience. He landed at Messina and commenced the siege, but despair gave resources : the citizens took alternate watches during the day to repulse assaults, at night the women patrolled the city. The French forces having been repulsed in an assault by day, attempted a night attack ; but two brave women who had the patrol of that part of the walls, frustrated their plans ; for while one rang the alarm bell to rouse the citizens, the other threw down masses of stone on the assailants, and thus kept them at bay till more defenders arrived. Pedro of Arragon had by this time arrived at Palermo, and had been crowned king of Sicily ; and Messina was in consequence very soon after relieved.

During the long war which ensued, the pontiffs never for a moment took the side of justice and right ; to subdue opposition to their power

and aggrandisement seemed the sole object of their anxiety, and one after another pursued the same path. Pedro of Arragon was excommunicated, and remission of sins was offered to all who should die in fight against him and the Sicilians! Who could believe in the divine commission of men who thus prostituted the holy name of Christ for the basest of purposes; in order to crush a gallant people struggling for the best rights of human nature against insufferable wrong?

At last the pontiff persuaded the king of France to send an army against Arragon, in order to chastise the monarch of that country for having accepted the crown offered him by a free people, whose country had been invaded without a shadow of right. The passes were so well guarded that for some time the hostile forces could find no entrance into Spain; till finally *a monk* was found ready to guide them through unusual paths into his country! Gerona held out gallantly against the invaders; but being at last reduced to extremity, the archbishop of Saragossa came to the French camp to arrange terms of capitulation. The papal legate was present, and we must conclude that he had the instructions of his court to guide his conduct:

he interrupted the envoy by exclaiming, "No mercy! no terms!" and when the young prince who commanded the French army, demanded of him what was to be done with the infants and maidens if Gerona were carried by assault, he replied, "Let all perish." The young warrior was more merciful than the churchman: he loudly refused to perpetrate such atrocities, and taking the archbishop aside, confided to him the exhausted state of the besieging army, and recommended them to hold out a few days longer for terms which then *must* be granted. The advice of the generous foe was followed, and Gerona was saved. The French army, worn with fatigue, privations, and an unaccustomed climate, soon became reduced in numbers and unfit for service. King Pedro watched their departure from his land, and repaid the humanity of their young commander by a no less humane courtesy, for he forbade his troops to molest in any way the band which guarded the sick. Space will not permit me to go into the various fortunes of the war, which was carried on with an indomitable determination on both sides. The supreme pontiff, who was every year assuming more the position of a temporal prince, and using his spiritual arms for merely political purposes, found the

expenses entailed upon him by this obstinate contest embarrass him more and more; and the constant demand for money made by him on the clergy of the different countries under his spiritual obedience, heightened the disgust already beginning to be felt at the grasping ambition of the roman see.

In no country was this more felt than in England. Innocent IV. had persuaded the weak Henry III. to accept the throne of Sicily for his second son Edmund : * and upon the pretext of carrying on the war with the ruling sovereign for the benefit of the royal family of England, the pontifical demands on the king and people became boundless. Even before this the exactions for the replenishment of the papal exchequer had been so onerous, that the clergy, as well as the parliament had remonstrated, refused to grant the sums required, and sent a letter explaining their grievances to the Council then assembled at Lyons : and not content with this, a certain knight, Fulk de Warin by name, was sent by the barons to the nuncio, warning him to quit England in three days. †

* He was proclaimed king of Sicily and Apulia, March 6, 1254, at the early age of nine years.

† A. D. 1245, at a tournament held by the discontented nobles, they agreed to despatch " Fulk de Warin on the

The long reign of Henry III. was a constant struggle between the nobility, the citizens, and

part of the whole kingdom to Master Martin, (the pope's nuncio,) then residing at the New Temple in London. The knight looking at him with a stern countenance, spoke thus: 'Begone, and leave England.' Martin. 'Who sends this message, or is it your own?' Fulk. 'The whole of the knights met at Dunstable and Luton. If you will take wise counsel, your life shall be spared till the third day from this time.' And so saying, Fulk retired, after having heightened the effect of his message by terrible oaths and menaces. Immediately Master Martin hastened to the king trembling and out of breath, saying what he had been told, and enquiring if it was by royal command. To whom the king, 'This is not by my command; but my barons are hardly to be pacified, and complain of me for tolerating your exactions and depredations, which exceed all bounds. Even I have difficulty in restraining their fury; and if they catch you they will tear you limb from limb.' To this Master Martin humbly replied, 'I entreat then, gracious king, that I may have a safe conduct to leave the kingdom.' To whom the king in a rage replied, 'I wish the Devil would conduct you to Hell;' but at the intercession of those about him he gave it in charge to one of the marshalmen of his palace to take him safe as far as the coast." Matt. Paris, in loc. The guide amused himself on the journey by alarming the fears of the unfortunate nuncio whenever they met any one on the road; and sent him off finally so thoroughly terrified that he had no wish to return to England. A century earlier no one would have dared to *amuse* himself at the expense of an envoy from the supreme Pontiff.

the clergy, on the one part, and the king and the pope on the other: the first contending for their privileges, property, and freedom generally, —the second for arbitrary power, and uncontrolled taxation. Happily for the liberties of England Henry was a weak man; and however well disposed to reign despotically, was of too vacillating a disposition to contend successfully against the determined opposition of his people. The consequence was that when Edward I. came to the throne, he found the power of the parliament too well established to be overthrown, and he accepted and maintained the laws which had been so often sworn to, and so often broken by his father.

Notwithstanding the extorted homage of John to the roman see, which was repeated at the instance of the legate by his son when he was crowned at ten years old, the spirit of resistance to roman encroachment gained strength throughout the latter part of this century in England no less than the other countries of Europe.* It

* "The legate complained to the king that the bishop of London was at the head of the opposition party; whereupon the king sent for, and reproached him; threatening that he would take care that the pope should know, and punish his contumacy: to which the bishop

was the natural consequence of increasing knowledge, which always leads to a struggle between

replied, ' My bishopric may be taken from me, though not by law:—for the pope and the king are stronger than I, but *when the mitre is taken away, the helmet will remain.*' " Matt. Paris, A.D. 1255, p. 615.

It may not be unacceptable to the reader if I here give a sketch of the state of England in general towards the middle of this century, taken from a modern work already quoted, but which is not in the hands of many. " An immense portion of the kingdom was covered by woods," the haunt of " lawless men, who preyed at will on passing travellers. The abbots of St. Albans retained certain armed men to keep the roads between that town and the metropolis, which lay for the most part through woods. Hampshire was notorious for its bands of freebooters . . .

" While vast districts of the country were covered with forests, other wide parts were mere fen and morass, some of which had become so within the memory of man. The population of even the most considerable towns was very scanty. A good illustration of the difficulty and insecurity of travelling at the close of this century, is afforded by the account of the cost of transmitting a sum of money to Prince Edward, son of Edward I. in 1301. The treasure, one thousand pounds, was brought to London by two knights on horseback, who were attended by sixteen armed valets on foot. It was not sufficient, however, that the money should be protected by men at arms; in the absence of hostels excepting in towns, it was necessary to secure the guards from hunger. Therefore they were accompanied by two cooks.

privileges and *rights*: for it soon becomes apparent to an accurate reasoner that the privileges of the few are only conceded for the preservation of the rights of the many; and as soon as they become unavailing for, or incompatible with their primary object, privilege must give way, and RIGHT must be once more advanced as the ground of all institutions. Too often the privileged class forgets its origin, and claims as of divine right a preeminence which was given by man, not God; and this has been the source in all ages of insurrection on the one hand, and

It took the guard eight days to arrive in London (from Chester) with a heavy weight, and six days to return without. The knights each received a shilling a day, and each valet a third of that sum. The two cooks had two pence a day, but he who was in the prince's service had to stay an extra time in London, in order to count out the money to the prince's treasurer, for which he received two shillings extra. The cost of hiring the five hackneys to carry the silver in panniers, was thirty shillings, and the total cost of conveying the money in question was £6 10s. 9d. currency of that day, or about £104 16s. in modern coin. So bad and unknown were cross roads at that time, that guides were hired to conduct travellers from one town to another. Thus in 1265 the Countess of Leicester, sister of Henry III. was guided on her road from Odiham Castle to Porchester by Dobbe the Shepherd."—Turner's Dom. Arch. in England.

bloody vengeance on the other. The murder of ecclesiastics, and the execution of heretics, had their cause far more in political than religious motives, and it will be found as we proceed, that the great contest between ecclesiastical pretension and secular power, though a corrupted faith was one part of the grievance, was in fact a determination on the part of the laity to resume so much of the privileges which they had conceded to the ministers of the church, as were found incompatible with the rights of the people generally. At first the ignorance and apathy of the lower orders left the quarrel to be carried on between the nobility and the higher orders of clergy: as time wore on, and civilisation advanced, the leaven spread deeper; and the people claimed inalienable rights where the nobility pleaded privilege. We shall see a century or two later, how, with the instinct of self-preservation, the greater part of these higher orders united to crush the new demand for RIGHTS. This contest is the groundwork of all political change, and it is only in tracing its occult causes and progress that we can arrive at any just appreciation of the events recorded in history, or hope to understand those amid which we live.



CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

MELANCHOLY as was the state of the Christian world during the twelfth, it was much more deplorable in the thirteenth century. The vital doctrine of Christ and His apostles had been overlaid with ceremonies till its existence was forgotten ; and when the people began to read for themselves and find it in the scriptures, the pontiff and the clergy, instead of recognising it, pursued the naked truth with a hue and cry, as if its appearance was an offence against public morals, and ought to be prevented. The puritans of Provence and Languedoc had found their doctrine in the New Testament ; accordingly, at a council held at Toulouse, A. D. 1229, in order to make regulations for the suppression of heresy, the fourteenth of these regulations forbids lay persons to have the books

of either the Old or the New Testament in their possession, with the exception of the Psalter, and even this was not to be translated into the vulgar tongue: * a proof, not only that the Christian doctrine had been very widely departed from, but that the heads of the church were aware of it. But the books which profess to contain the message of God to man cannot be withheld from the people without exciting strong suspicions that there must be motives for such a prohibition which honest men would reprobate; and when the course of forbidding enquiry is once entered upon, it becomes, as it was in the case of the inhabitants of Provence and other places, a war of extermination on the part of the constituted authorities: for these are usually too strong in the possession of wealth and power to be resisted by merely a section of the people, and the thinkers are not wont to be the majority in any age: but at that time especially, they were greatly outnumbered by the ignorant and the bigoted.

The synod of Toulouse had been preceded by

* Dupin, Hist. Ecc. Tom. x. p. 401. The writer in recording this canon merely observes, "Cette défense est apparemment fondée sur l'abus fréquent que l'on eu faisait alors dans ce pays."

the fourth Lateran Council, A. D. 1215, whose authority is acknowledged generally by the roman church. The decrees of this council against heretics have been a subject of much dispute in later times; one of them especially, which enjoins the persecution of heretics having been in some measure disavowed by modern romanists. It, however, matters little what the formula might be which authorized the proceedings against the Albigeois, &c. : the facts prove what the papal instructions must have been, since a legate from the holy see was present in the army of Simon de Montfort, and assisted in singing the "Veni Creator" to inspirit the massacre of the unfortunate defenders of Lavaur. But the spirit of persecution is not peculiar to the roman church: it is the character of sectarianism all the world over, and only proves that the community which adopts it is not catholic, since the *catholic* church necessarily embraces all who call themselves by the name of Christ, and profess to receive his law as their rule of life. The moment we impose a penalty on those who may chance to differ from us in their interpretation of that law, we necessarily forfeit our title to the belief καθ' ολον, and enter the ranks of a sect: it may be roman, anglican,

lutheran, calvinist, or any other section of the church ; but still a sect, and its tendency to abridge religious liberty must be guarded against by all who know that human nature is fallible, and are aware, therefore, that human interpretations of God's message to the world may sometimes be erroneous.

It would surprise the greater part of my readers, probably, were they calmly to specify to themselves the true catholic faith—the *καθ' ὅλον*, the “quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,” which has been so much insisted on. What is it which has never been seriously denied by any Christian in any age or in any country ? for that, doubtless, is the catholic doctrine. Is it the incarnation of Christ ? The Docetæ denied it *in toto*, considering his bodily appearance as a vision merely, while the Valentinians allowed his substance, but denied that he partook of the nature of his mother. Is it his divinity ? The Carpocratians, the Ebronites, the Photinians, and the followers of Paul of Samosata denied it altogether. Is it the Unity of the Godhead in a Trinity of persons ? The Ætians and Eunomians held that the three persons of the Trinity were unlike ; the Macedonians,—so called from Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople,—de-

nied that the Holy Spirit is God ; the Arians, for a long time the ruling party in the Church, asserted a difference of substance between the Father and the Son, denying that the latter was co-eternal, and holding him to be a created Being ; while the Noetians and the Sabellians asserted the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be identically the same. Is it the Atonement as now taught and understood by the great body of modern Christians ? Justinus the Martyr and the other Antenicene fathers, appear never to have heard of it, for there is no mention of any such doctrine in their writings. Is it the union of the divine and human nature in Christ ? The Apollenarians allowed him a human body, but denied him a human soul ; the Eutychians, the Theodotians and others asserted that there was but one nature in him ; the Monothelites allowed two natures, but maintained that he had but one will. It would take too much time to follow up the ramifications of these different opinions,— suffice it to say that they have all been held at various times by large sections of the catholic church, using that word in its proper sense of the assemblage of all who accept Christ as their Lawgiver and Teacher. There is not a single speculative doctrine which has not at some time

been the subject of acrimonious controversy : where then are we to find the "Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus," so often appealed to, and which must be accepted as the catholic doctrine if anything be? The question is a serious one, and will not in these times admit of being put off, for thousands are asking, and millions will ask it. I answer without hesitation that the catholic doctrine is to be found in the moral law which Christ came especially to teach, and which the Apostles were enjoined to preach "to all nations, teaching them to observe whatsoever he had commanded," for as he elsewhere says, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord! Lord! shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." No one that nameth the name of Christ ever seriously denied that murder, impurity, rapine, and falsehood were sins that would exclude us from the kingdom of heaven : no one ever doubted that to love our neighbour as ourselves, to do to others as we would they should do to us, to forgive our enemies, to acknowledge our dependence on God, to love, honour, and endeavour to serve Him, are the duties imposed by the Christian profession, and that these precepts were given by Christ. Here

then we have the "quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;" here we have the answer to the question which now as formerly is asked by millions of perishing souls, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and that answer is all embracing, and applies equally to all time, all regions, all nations.*

The cruelties exercised in Provence did but spread more widely the doctrines they were intended to crush, for the miserable people, finding no hope of safety in their own country, fled before the invading army, and carried to other lands the opinions which had made them fugitives from their own.† Everywhere enquiry

* Dupin, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, tom. x. chap. 10, roundly avers that "the heretics overturned the principles of the Christian religion by openly attacking the Authority, the Sacraments, the Ceremonies and the Discipline of the Church." Did that writer never hear of the Sermon on the Mount, where the principles of the Christian religion are very differently laid down?

† What these were may be gathered from a work said to have been written by the bishop of Tuy in Spain against the Albigeois, in which he "refutes their errors respecting the intercession of saints, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the state of the saints after death, the sacraments and sacramental things, benedictions, sacrifices, the authority of the fathers, the worship of the cross and of images."—Dupin, *Hist. Ecc.* tom. x.

was awakened, and the consequence was, that both among laymen and ecclesiastics new sects arose, and old ones were revived: for it should not be forgotten that the greater part of the sects which have at different times distracted the church, arose from the difficulties of an abstract belief on matters which the human intellect can never completely master; and which, without long culture in science, must remain wholly incomprehensible. Hence the variety of opinions which I have enumerated with regard to speculative doctrines, and hence, when thought was again directed towards this part of the Christian faith, many wild notions were adopted and propagated: * but more generally the so-called heresies of this period consisted of an appeal to

* A. D. 1240. The archbishop of Paris with the co-operation of the doctors of the University condemned the following propositions of the Dominican and Franciscan friars. "1. That the essence of God is never seen by either men or angels. 2. That the essence of God, though the same in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is one with the Father and the Son, but not in the Holy Spirit. 3. That the Holy Spirit does not proceed from the Son but solely from the Father. 4. That there are several eternal truths which are not God. 5. That the first moment, the creation, and the passion, are neither the creator nor the creature. 6. That the evil

Scripture as the rule of faith and practice: for the heads of the church knew that neither their doctrine nor their power could stand that test. Fourteen of the disciples of a certain Amaury of the University of Paris, were brought before a council held at Paris, A. D. 1209, for heresy of this kind. They were all learned students of the university, and had objected to transubstantiation and the worship of saints and relics: they had gone so far as to call the pope Antichrist, Rome, Babylon; and the ecclesiastics, the members of Antichrist: and for this they were condemned,—ten were burned, three condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and one recanted and became a monk. The council probably judged well as to the connection of cause and effect on

angel was bad from the first moment of his creation. 7. That holy souls and that of the blessed Virgin are not in the empyreal heaven with the angels, but in the crystalline. 8. That an angel may be in many places at once, and even everywhere. 9. That he who has the best disposition will have the most grace. 10. That the devil had no aid to prevent him from falling, nor Adam to enable him to remain innocent." The assembly after censuring the propositions proceeded to affirm the contrary of each of them: from hence may be judged the sort of speculations which occupied theologians at that time.

this occasion, and after sentencing the men to be burned, they proceeded to inflict the same penalty on those writings of Aristoteles which treated of physics and metaphysics; and the reading them in future was forbidden under pain of excommunication. The prohibition was confirmed by the papal legate, A. D. 1215, though he permitted the dialectics of this philosopher to be studied. Gregory IX. renewed the prohibition, A. D. 1231, with the proviso that it was only till his works *had been corrected*. A. D. 1265 the papal legate confirmed the regulation of 1215, and it was not till A. D. 1366, at the reform of the university, that the writings of the greatest of greek thinkers were permitted to be read without restriction by the Parisian students.*

The general disgust which had been excited by the conduct and pretensions of the roman pontiff and the majority of the clergy, already threatened to overthrow the fabric of ecclesiastical power: it was met, not by the reform of abuses, but by the establishment of a tribunal ostensibly for enquiry into offences against the faith, but its rigours were directed mainly against those who struck at the system of spiritual tyranny

* Dupin, Hist. Ecc. tom. x. p. 553, 2nd edit.

which had been established by the bishops of Rome. The Dominican friars sent by Innocent III. into the province of Narbonne to search for heretics, may be considered as the first inquisitors; the evil foundation was built upon by subsequent pontiffs, and the superstructure was such as might have been expected from the first crude plan.*

In Germany the ferment of the people was not less, and far from being conscience-stricken by the horrible atrocities consequent on the crusade in the south of France, Gregory IX. addressed bulls to the bishops of Minden, Lubeck, and others, directing them to preach a fresh crusade against the heretics of Stettin † and the

* "The tribunal of the Inquisition was first established in Toulouse, and in the other towns of Languedoc where the heresy of the Albigeois and the Vaudois was seated. The popes established it also in Italy, from which it travelled a long time after into Spain: but it was banished from France, and could not be introduced into Germany." Dupin, *Hist. Ecc.* tom. x. p. 594. This tribunal was fully established by a book published in April, 1233, in which the business of the Inquisition was confided to the Dominicans alone. For the proceedings consequent on this establishment see Sismondi, *Hist. des Français.* Tom. vii. p. 151.

† Called also Stading by some writers.

adjacent country, while the Inquisition busied itself with Flanders and the north of France. A certain Friar Robert, called the Bulgarian, because he had been converted from that race, was the scourge of heretics . . . he boasted that in two or three months he had caused fifty of these wretches to be burnt or buried alive.* The Duke of Brabant and the Count of Holland took the command of the crusade, and after an "innumerable multitude of heretics had been burned alive throughout Germany, and a yet greater number converted,"† the army of the cross proceeded against Stettin. The reformers ventured a battle, but were defeated:—six thousand were slain in the battle, others drowned in the Oder, and the "heretics" seemed, for the time, to be exterminated. But the fierce passions of the people when once aroused were not easily stayed in their career; and when there were no longer heretics to burn, the Jews were attacked. In France, Spain, and England, numbers of all ages and both sexes were massacred, till even

* Matt. Paris.

† Concil. Mogunt. contra Stadingos in Labb. Concil. Gen. tom. xi. p. 478, cited by Sismondi, Hist. des Français.

Gregory was shocked ; and endeavoured, though with small success, to put a stop to these sanguinary proceedings by excommunication : but as well might we expect to warn the fleshed tiger to avoid his human prey, as expect that superstition will effectually curb the ferocious passions of the human animal when thoroughly awakened. The real catholic doctrine was forgotten ; what could a few pageants do towards teaching the lesson of self-control, difficult even to the cultivated, impossible to the uncultivated mind ?

Still, though the fires of persecution continued to blaze for all who ventured to impugn the papal decrees, and though greek philosophy was required to put on a *soutane* ere it could be allowed to teach in the universities of Europe, the light which had begun to dawn was not extinguished. Anselm first, Abelard next, had asserted the rights of the human intellect, and had shown that the highest questions must be submitted to it : for reason is the eye of the mind—the organ through which the light of heaven is perceived ; and if we blind this, the Spirit of God may indeed move upon the waters, but man can no longer perceive it. It is only through this divine faculty that we can apprehend divine

things ;* and those who attempt to curb or to annihilate it, would, if they succeeded, consign man to the life of the brutes, without any profitable remembrance of the past or hope for the future. It is well for mankind that this is impossible: we might as easily decree that all generations should be born without ears, as without the rational faculties; and all that men have ever arrived at in this direction, has been the temporary brutalizing of a portion only of the race. There is too much around us which necessarily rouses thought, to allow this mental slumber to continue.

The disciples of Abelard were not deterred by their master's misfortunes from launching in the same career, and both in England and in Germany the scholastic philosophy was studied with increasing ardour. But, as in the case of Greece, when the higher and more legitimate objects of philosophical discussion were made

* The difference in sense between *apprehend* and *comprehend* is often overlooked: let me once for all define it. To *apprehend* is to reach and touch, to *comprehend* is to grasp thoroughly. Man's reason can apprehend the things of God: to comprehend them is possible only to the Deity itself.

the objects of penal restraint, philosophy by degrees became degraded, and employed itself in useless subtleties; so in the thirteenth century the schoolmen who had begun by treating of the most important subjects,—i. e. the relation between God and the human mind,—gradually employed their acuteness on less dangerous subjects, and the schoolmen of the second epoch, though their skill as dialecticians may excite our wonder, are far less deserving of our attention than those earlier and more earnest men who sought to build faith on rational argument. The chief feeling excited by reading the works of Aquinas, one of the most famous writers of this epoch, is regret at the waste of talent upon questions which could benefit neither himself nor others.

But there is one author of this century who deserves a separate notice, and a nobler praise. Born of a respectable family in Somersetshire, Roger Bacon, after passing some time at Oxford, proceeded to Paris to complete his studies, as was the custom of the time; and far from confining his attention to the usual routine, he learned besides, the oriental and western languages, jurisprudence and medicine; and his studies in philosophy and science were extended not only

through greek and latin authors, but the Arabians also. His proficiency in these things won him the title of doctor, and returning to Oxford, about A. D. 1240, he assumed the vows and habit of a Franciscan; * not, however, to spend his time in idle mendicancy : for he prosecuted his researches in science with a diligence which procured him the fame of a magician in his own time,—in ours, that of the founder of practical science in England. He was the intimate friend of Robert Grostest or Greathead, bishop of Lin-

* The Franciscans, or *fratreminores*, as they sometimes called themselves with an affection of humility not shown in their actions, were founded in the early part of this century by St. Francis d'Assesi. By their rule they were to possess no property, but to subsist by begging : only one portion of the order, however, adhered to the letter of the rule : the rest by the interpretation put on the words by successive popes, found themselves at liberty to do as other orders had done, and escape from the severity of discipline. Those who still adhered to it, wandered over the country inveighing against the luxury of the monks and clergy, thus aiding by their preaching the general discontent, and giving weight to the demands for reform. The clergy on their part accused them of heresy. Those who wish to know more on the subject, will find it treated fully and well in a work lately published, Mariotti's "*Fra Dolcino and his Times.*"—It is the most philosophical account of the mediæval heresies and their causes that has appeared.

coln, a man of great acquirements for his time, and a determined opponent of papal encroachments. The fame of Bacon's scientific acquirements had reached the ears of Clement IV, whilst he was the legate of the holy see in England; and on his elevation to the papal chair, A. D. 1265, he sent to him to beg for a sight of his writings: but already the learning of this extraordinary man had made him an object of jealous suspicion to his brother monks, and he had been forbidden to lecture or to publish his writings: he therefore made known this prohibition to the pope, and having notwithstanding received a reiterated request to see his writings, he produced his "Opus majus" addressed to that pontiff. It was sent to him by one of the philosopher's disciples, A. D. 1267, but the death of Clement occurring in the course of the following year possibly prevented him from reading it: at any rate, we have no certain account of how it was received by him. This work, which from being addressed to so high a personage probably gained a degree of attention and publicity which was especially displeasing to the clergy, brought on him so much suspicion that a few years after he was imprisoned by the general of his order, afterwards Nicholas IV. during many years. The

crime which he was accused of was magic,—the usual charge against men of science in an ignorant age; and heavily does the world pay the penalty of its perverse folly; for the most beneficial discoveries of modern times have in most cases awaited, not a mind capable of conceiving, but an age able and willing to receive them. “I often began the construction of these” (astronomical tables), says Bacon, “but I was unable to finish them on account of the folly of those with whom I had to do.”—He appears indeed to have had all the activity of mind needed for a great discoverer, and it is difficult to say how far he might have gone had he not been checked by the folly and ignorance of his age, of which he ceases not to complain. He seems to have felt that it was in the power of mind to vanquish matter, and though the possible triumphs of science at which he points have not all been accomplished; though in some instances even his great intellect was betrayed into some of the errors of his time, it is clear that he was in the right road, and that he was justified in saying that he was impeded only by the narrow views of the majority. This is not the place to enquire how far the discovery of gunpowder,—of glasses for optical purposes, and consequently of the

telescope and microscope,—and perhaps of the diving-bell, are due to him: our business is rather with the habits of thought which produced such great results, and gave to the researches of the Christian philosopher a fructifying power which had been wanting to the great minds of antiquity. In the first part of his *Opus majus* he explains his views on this head at some length. He begins with disclaiming all regard to the opinion of the multitude: “there are,” says he, “four great hindrances to the perception of the truth, and which rarely permit any one to arrive at real wisdom: and these are,—the weight of example however unworthy of authority,—length of habit,—the opinion of the unlearned vulgar,—and the concealment of real ignorance under a show of knowledge: and by these every man, and every rank is involved and impeded: for every thing whether in art, science, or business of any kind, is stopped short by three bad arguments; i. e. ‘This is according to the example of our ancestors;’—‘This is customary;’—‘This is the general opinion therefore to be received.’ But the opposite conclusion would be much more reasonable.—Where these three rules are dominant no reason will move, no law is of force, no room given for right, or even the

dictates of nature to be heard: vice prevails, virtue is extinguished, falsehood reigns, truth is driven away . . . Since then such is the case, we ought not to adhere to what we read and hear, but examine closely the opinions of our forefathers, that we may add to them what is wanting, and correct what is faulty, but at the same time with modesty and care . . . for it is impossible for man to arrive at perfect knowledge in this life"—The wisdom which he so eagerly and so successfully cultivated he thus describes —“ The object of all philosophy is this, namely, that through the knowledge of his creatures we may arrive at knowing the Creator: and by the aid of just laws, pure lives, and the reverent worship of Him to whom we owe the benefit of our creation, preservation, and future felicity, men may live peaceably and worthily in this present life. For speculative philosophy treats of the knowledge of the Creator by means of his creatures, and moral philosophy teaches purity of life, and just laws, and the worship of God; and assures us of future felicity with all the force which it is capable of. These are the principal parts of philosophy, and since these things too are necessary to Christians and altogether consonant with the wisdom of God, it is manifest

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that philosophy is needful to the divine law, and to the faithful who glory in following that law . . . therefore philosophy is nothing but the explanation of divine wisdom . . . and hence perfect knowledge is one with that which sacred scripture affords.*

Such were the views with which the enlightened monk of the thirteenth century entered on his career, with the world of science lying as dark and formless before him, as the material world had done when the Spirit of God called the first light into existence. It was not possible that one man, in one ordinary life should complete so great a work, even had he met with no hindrance; and his contemporaries took care to throw as many obstacles in his way as prejudice and ignorance, when they have the rule, can command: but in spite of all this he has left a name never to be forgotten; and the impulse which he gave to modern science is felt, even yet, in all its branches. Like Anselm, nevertheless, he shrunk from the full application of his own philosophy; and though he disclaimed authority, and referred divine truths to rational

* *Opus Majus*. Pars 1. 2. The passages above quoted are gathered from different chapters.

argument for proof, on the sure ground that all knowledge is from God, and therefore one in its purpose and demonstration, he either lacked the courage of a martyr, and verbally accepted the dicta of the roman church without the examination to which he subjected all else; or the prejudices of education clung to him in those points where to doubt is to despair, and he had not resolution enough to abide the pain of wrenching away every stay at once in order to reconstruct a rational faith. None can tell till they have tried, what that pain is to an earnest mind, eager for the truth, but at the same time humble in its estimate of its own powers: but be that as it may, Roger Bacon was not a reformer; and he lived and died a Franciscan monk, conforming at least outwardly to the ritual of his church. The persecution to which he was subjected is therefore the more remarkable, for it could only have had its origin in the instinctive feeling that the theology of the time could not bear the test to which Bacon's philosophy would have subjected it, and that if science were to bring its light to bear upon the system of the church, as then established, the whole fabric would melt away like a night dream at sunrise.

In truth every year now produced some new

and strange superstition, held by the clergy of that day, in their short-sighted wisdom, to be advantageous to them; but which being both untrue and irrational, hastened on that reform which they dreaded, and which they were taking such violent measures to stave off. It was in this century that the doctrine of works of supererogation was introduced; the proximate cause of the disgust taken by Luther against the practices of his church: for when the popes became temporal princes, who had to maintain the state and the armies of that rank, the revenues of a small state like the patrimony of St. Peter, were insufficient for such large expenses; and the exactions made by the papal legates in the different countries of Europe, in order to fill the roman treasury, met with great opposition. It was requisite, therefore, to devise some expedient by which the enormous sums required for carrying on the wars of the holy see might be raised; and the sale of the indulgences arising from the extraordinary fund might now be reckoned among the ways and means of the papal exchequer.* Fiscal embarrassments are the usual

* “ For the introduction of the doctrine *Thesaurus Supererogationis Perfectorum*, the admirers of papistical remission of sins are indebted to Hales, the irrefragable

cause of revolution, and even in the case of the roman pontiffs, whose monstrous absurdities of doctrine might well have disgusted all thinking men, the spirit of opposition was first kindled by the large demands upon the purses of their votaries. In England the disgust caused by these incessant claims, was, as we have seen, carried to a great height: and when, in addition to all this, the pope claimed the power of setting the king (Henry III.) free from the solemn oaths by which he had confirmed the charters of english freedom, the sacerdotal tyranny which thus warred with good government, became odious to the nation; and from this time we find the parliament setting itself to curb the priestly no less than the kingly power.*

Doctor, and his coadjutor, Albertus Magnus. Considerable advancement was given to this extraordinary branch of Roman Catholic faith by the effects which followed the decree of the council of Lyons, to transfer the sale of indulgences from the episcopacy to the mendicant orders. The popes claimed to be qualified to estimate the superfluity of good deeds done by any saint of the Calendar beyond the amount requisite to blot out his own iniquities; and they claimed to themselves the privilege of holding the key of the treasury which contained this excess of good works."—Townsend's Ecc. and Civ. Hist. Vol. ii. p. 568.

* In the reign of Edward I. A. D. 1270, the statute of

No man was a more resolute opponent of papal encroachments than Grostest, bishop of Lincoln, the intimate friend of Roger Bacon : and in a letter which has been preserved by Matthew Paris, he dares in very strong language, to remind the pontiff of his duty as a successor of the apostles. Innocent IV. had enjoined him to institute a foreigner and a boy to a living in his diocese : though the youth was the pope's nephew, the bishop refused ; and when sharply censured by Innocent, returned an answer reminding him that the papal instructions, he claiming to be the Vicar of Christ on earth, must necessarily be conformable to those of Christ and his apostles ; and if they should not be so, “ no Christian who

mortmain was passed by which the devising of estates to the church was forbidden ; and a like law was made in France about the same time. A little, later A. D. 1279, Archbishop Peckham was called before the parliament, and obliged to revoke certain sentences of excommunication, pronounced in a council held in August of that year, against such as should obtain letters from the king to stay proceedings in ecclesiastical courts, and such as do not apprehend excommunicated persons, &c. Among other things required of the Archbishop was one, that Magna Charta be taken down from the church doors, which it seems the Archbishop, in the old popular spirit of the ecclesiastical body, had commanded to be placed there.

desires to continue in the communion of the church . . . can obey commands of this kind ;” adding that the instructions he had received were so plain a contradiction to the catholic faith, that he felt compelled to refuse obedience. The pontiff was beyond measure enraged, and is said by some, to have excommunicated the bishop : if he did so, Grostest paid no attention to it, and continued to exercise his functions : nay, he was revered as a saint by his countrymen after his death, which took place A. D. 1253.

Latin was still the language of books with very few exceptions ;* and monks and other ecclesiastical persons were still the chief writers ; but though much prejudice and much credulity is perceivable in these authors, still there is an attempt during this century to attain greater precision in writing : dates are given more carefully, and events are sometimes commented upon with considerable freedom. One of the things deserving of remark among the mediæval writers, is the corporeality everywhere attributed to Satan and his ministers. In nothing has the belief of the church more altered than

* The love songs and romances of the troubadours were in the provençal tongue.

in this; for even down to the time of Martin Luther, the notion of evil spirits varied but little from that entertained by the heathen of their "dæmon;" namely, a half spiritual being, the surviving part of dead men; which wandered through the earth chiefly in desolate places, and had a local habitation for the time being. Of the present current belief, which gives ubiquity to the tempter, little or nothing was heard till after the Reformation. Matthew Paris gives abundant details respecting invisible appearances of evil spirits during the times which preceded his own; but though credulous, he is not false, and when he writes of his own age he is very sparing of such narratives: but throughout there seems no notion of a *spiritual* agency. The behests, the appearance, and the service of Satan were always corporeal. Saints overhear evil spirits talking to each other, and learn from their conversation things not intended for their ear: or they enter into personal contests with them, as in the case of Dunstan and others; and so far from possessing the power of influencing thought now attributed to the evil principle, according to modern belief,—which scarcely differs from the Magian and Manichæan doctrine,—we find the devil in these tales a very short-

sighted and silly being, constantly outwitted by both saint and sinner; consequently wholly unable to read thoughts. How and where this change in belief first came about is not easy to say:—it took place apparently after the Reformation, and probably grew out of the greater intellectuality of the age: for among the ignorant poor the notion of a possible corporeal appearance of Satan is still to be found. The fact is, however, a remarkable one; and may serve to show how a doctrine guarded by creeds and canons can vary completely from age to age with the spirit of the times; and yet the variation will remain for a long time unnoticed. Nor is this by any means the only case in which the modern church has quitted not only the mediæval, but the primitive notions on many points. The truths of God, no doubt, are eternal; but the expression of them to man must be regulated by the habits of thought and the scientific proficiency, or in one word, the philosophy of the period; and thus it is that no age can thoroughly adopt the expressions of a former one, because its habits of thought are changed, and consequently a new formula is needed to express an old truth. But these new formulæ are displeasing to persons who have grown old under the

former system, and are often stigmatized as heresies, when a closer examination in a calm and Christian spirit would have shown that it was but the modernised dress of an old friend, who might easily be recognised even under that changed costume, if we would but take the pains to look him in the face a second time.

The canons made during this century testify to the utter formalism of the religion of the time: they are full of regulations as to how the hair shall be cut; and how monks and nuns shall be dressed, and what shall be the manner of receiving and administering the eucharist; but of doctrine they contain very little and of morals less, if we except the frequent anathemata against the concubinage and incontinence of priests and monks, so frequent indeed as to enforce the conclusion that among ecclesiastics chastity was by no means promoted by the endeavour to impose celibacy on them as a rule of their order. Towards the end of the century, however, Archbishop Peckham seems to have made some attempt at a reform of abuses; and in his "Constitutions," published at Lambeth A. D. 1281, he enters at some length into the moral evils of the times, and their remedy. "The ignorance of priests plunges the people

into error," he observes, "and the simpleness of clerks who are commanded to instruct the people in the catholic faith, does rather mislead than teach them." "As a remedy for which mischiefs," he enjoins every parish priest that four times in a year, "either by himself or some other he shall expound to the people in the vulgar tongue, without any fantastical affectation of subtilty, the fourteen articles of faith, i. e.

1. The unity of the Divine essence.
2. That the Father is God unbegotten.
3. That the Son is God only begotten of God.
4. That the Holy Spirit is God, neither begotten nor unbegotten, but proceeding from both Father and Son.
5. That the creation is from the entire indivisible Trinity.
6. That the church with her sacraments and laws is sufficient for the salvation of every man, though he be a sinner to ever so great a degree; and that out of the church is no salvation.
7. That the church shall be consummate in eternal glory both in soul and body, which is truly to be raised up again; and by the rule of contraries, the eternal damnation of the wicked.
8. The incarnation of Christ.
9. The nativity of God incarnate from the uncorrupted Virgin.
10. The true passion of Jesus Christ, and his dying on the

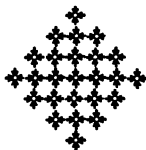
cross under the tyrant Pilate. 11. The descent of Christ into hell (for the conquering of it) as to his soul, while his body rested in the grave. 12. The true resurrection of Christ. 13. His true ascent into heaven. 14. The sure expectation of his coming to judgment." In addition to this "the ten commandments of the Decalogue," omitting, however, the second, and dividing the tenth so as to make up the number. "The two precepts of the gospel, or of love to God and Man: the seven works of mercy, the seven capital sins with their progeny, the seven principal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace."

We may form some notion of the religious and intellectual state of the people when the giving this instruction *four times in a year* was held sufficient; and even that was an innovation; and when it was held requisite to allow the parish priest to employ a substitute, if incapable of it himself. Archbishop Peckham farther enjoins to priests, "that when they give the holy communion at Easter, or any other time, to the simple, diligently to instruct them that the body and blood of our Lord is given them at once under the species of bread, nay the whole living and true Christ, who is entirely under the species of the sacrament. And let them at the same time instruct them that what at the same

time is given them to drink, is not the sacrament, but mere wine to be drunk for the more easy swallowing of the sacrament which they have taken." This curious distinction of giving the cup to the laity, but unconsecrated, was retained for some time in England, long after it had been altogether denied to them in the continental churches. In the diocese of Exeter, however, it appears by the acts of a synod held A.D. 1287, that the people continued to receive the consecrated cup; for while enjoining the adoration of the host, it is given as a reason that "under the species of bread they received the same body that hung upon the cross for their salvation, and under the species of wine the blood which was shed from Christ's side." It is thus that the corruptions in faith and practice crept in, so gradually that it is hardly possible to point out the date at which any one was first introduced. We find them after a time full grown; but probably they had been a century or two coming to maturity; at first attracting no attention, or if some slight innovation was noticed, it was thought, as in the time of Tertullianus,* either harmless,

* In his treatise *De Corona* he enumerates many customs in the church in his time which could not be referred to either Christ or his Apostles.

or perhaps praiseworthy: it became a custom next,—and passed finally into the form of an article of doctrine; not to be impugned without the infliction of a heavy penalty, though not to be acquiesced in without sacrificing both reason and conscience. The thirteenth century had brought things to this point: the next three hundred years were spent in the great struggle between darkness and light: we have seen the dawn, but it has been a fitful gleam barely lighting our path: the noontide of science and Christianity is yet to come “when they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD; for they shall all know me, from the least to the greatest of them, saith the LORD.” It may come sooner or later, but that noon WILL COME.





CHAPTER V.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

AT the beginning of this century the principal thrones of Europe were occupied by three men no less ambitious and unscrupulous than they were able: it was hardly to be expected that when the kings of France and England and the sovereign pontiff were all bent on their own aggrandisement, at whatever cost, they could long avoid a collision; and the character of the men made the results of such a collision the more to be dreaded. Yet these men passed off the stage almost as if they had not been; and their ambitious schemes faded and withered away in the reigns of their imbecile successors. Philip IV. (surnamed le Bel) of France, had set his mind on wresting from the king of England all his remaining continental possessions: Edward I. of England was equally bent on subjugating Scotland: while Boniface VIII. was no less determined to make

both subservient to himself: but Philip after obtaining possession of Aquitaine by false pretexts, found himself obliged, after exhausting his kingdom by imposts to meet the expenses of the war, to give it back again to purchase peace: and Edward after exhausting his kingdom no less in the attempt to retain Scotland, saw it escape from his grasp under the guidance of Robert Bruce; while Boniface who had appeared publicly with the insignia of temporal sovereignty, and boasted of bearing both swords, died of a fever brought on by the indignities he had suffered at the hands of Philip's agents; and his memory remains tarnished by the evidence brought forward after his death of his vices and his hypocrisy. The falsehood and perfidy which signalized the chief of these transactions are recorded by the historians of the time, and may be found in their writings by those who wish to know the events of a very remarkable period: my concern is with the people rather than the sovereigns, and the effect which these events had on the condition of the human race generally.

The first result of Philip's unprincipled usurpation of Aquitaine was the virtual loss of Flanders, hitherto a fief of the french crown. Ed-

ward I. eager to revenge the wrong he had suffered from his rival's want of faith, sought allies to support his cause in all directions; and among the rest formed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the Count of Flanders. Philip at once threw his whole force upon that country; and Edward found his people too much wearied by his perpetual wars, to be able to render effectual assistance: the count was taken prisoner; and the country placed under a French governor: but the rich and industrious Flemings were not a people to be trampled on with impunity. A deputation from the trades of Bruges waited on the governor to complain that the government orders were not paid for when executed:—he imprisoned the deputies to the number of thirty. The people no sooner heard of their arrest than they flew to arms, rescued the prisoners, and placing them at their head, massacred the French wherever they could find them. The first movement had been made without preparation; but having once gone so far there was no safety but in going on. Before a French army could be collected to avenge their countrymen, the Flemings had collected their militia under the son and grandson of their captive count: they had but twenty thousand infantry to meet a force of

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nearly fifty thousand French, of whom seven thousand five hundred were mounted cavaliers, the proud nobility of France; but they had stout hearts and discipline; they knew that freedom was requisite to the prosperous trade which had made them rich, and which would make them rich again if they preserved it; and accordingly they held their wealth well spent in the preservation of their independence. The worth of infantry in the field was only just beginning to be felt, and when near Courtrai the Flemish infantry stood at bay, the nobles, dismounted, fighting in the ranks with the citizens. The French commanders committed the same fault which so often afterwards led to their defeat. They despised the handful of *roturiers* who dared to await the shock of their charge; advanced impetuously without even reconnoitring the ground, and found themselves thrown into irretrievable confusion by being precipitated into a canal extending in front of the Flemish position, which had not been perceived till the horses were already floundering in the water. The slaughter was immense: never before had the French nobility suffered such loss: and when Philip in person with a fresh army of sixty thousand men attempted to wipe out the disgrace of

the last campaign, he was made painfully aware of the fact that the serried pikes of disciplined infantry could resist the charge of his finest cavalry. Philip grew weary of a war where he reaped neither glory nor profit, and set the old count at liberty in order to negotiate a peace on condition that if he did not effect it within the year he should return to his prison. The old man, with a patriotic self-devotion which deserves to be recorded, embraced his children and his friends; thanked them for the pleasure of that interview which their bravery had won, and bade them yield nothing for the sake of one already on the brink of the grave. At the end of the year he honourably returned to his prison, and died there: and from that time Flanders was never again a quiet dependency of France, though bearing the title of a fief, and occasionally subdued by force of arms for a few years.

At last weary ambition found rest, where alone it ever does find rest,—in the grave. Philip after having outlived his rivals, himself died at an early age, and his successor Louis X. surnamed *Hutin*, hastened to undo all that his father had been striving to accomplish during his whole reign. In the obscurity which hangs over the reign of Philip IV. of France, it is diffi-

cult to arrive at the knowledge of his real policy : but his measures, as far as we know anything of them, appear all to have had one great object in view, i. e. that of consolidating an empire which should be governed by laws emanating from one head, that head being no longer a mere feudal suzerain, but the actual sovereign of the whole population. Aquitaine was a fief ; he endeavoured to make it an integral part of France : the sacerdotal bearded the regal power ; he bent his whole force to humble the pride of the head of the church, and succeeded : the nobles had been a troublesome class whilst surrounded by their vassals and serfs, in their fortified castles ; he tempted them by the pleasures of a brilliant court to abandon their ruder habits, and real strength, and rendered them obsequious courtiers instead of turbulent chieftains : and finally, A. D. 1302, when his disputes with the Roman see rendered the consent of his people generally to his measures very desirable, he revived the old Teutonic legislative assembly constituted upon a new plan, under the titles of *Etats generaux*. To this assembly came not only the nobility and prelates, who had formed the legislative body under Pepin and Charlemagne, but deputies from the " good towns " also ; representatives

in fact of the trade and commerce of the kingdom. Before this assembly the king's lawyers propounded the measures which required their assent, which having given, they separated.

The constitution of the *Etats generaux* of France was that of the English parliament; but it was introduced among a people disqualified by long desuetude from availing themselves of the boon. The establishment of the feudal system in France had annihilated all national feeling: the great fiefs were in fact separate principalities, which had their own customs and privileges, but acknowledged no general law of the kingdom, save the king's will, when he was strong enough to enforce it. In England, on the contrary, where the feudal system had never been thoroughly naturalised, and the people clung to the laws of their Teutonic ancestors with a pertinacity which the Norman kings were unable to overcome, the meetings of the great council of the nation had never been altogether discontinued, and in this the national discontents found their appropriate voice. When therefore the Norman barons, whose English fiefs had never been extensive or independent enough to resist the kingly power, where backed by the people, wished to defend their privileges against regal tyranny,

they found here a ready organ for the expression of their grievances ; and by claiming redress for popular wrongs as well as their own, acquired a united strength which enabled them to curb the monarchy, and lay the foundation of English freedom.

The Etats generaux were called together from a distance, the members were strangers to each other, nor were their functions properly ascertained : the greater part of them were of course illiterate, and when the king's orators, clever jurists accustomed to legal forms, had laid before them the measures he proposed to take against Boniface VIII. in consequence of his interference in the affairs of France, a ready confirmation of them was given, without any attempt on the part of the assembly to complain of the grievances which all felt, but did not know how to express. The next step taken by the king seems equally significant of an intention to raise up a *tiers état* which should enable him finally to curb both prelates and nobles : he offered freedom on the payment of a moderate composition to all the serfs of the crown, and as his demands on the purses of his subjects were large, many of the great lords, at his invitation, followed his example, and filled their coffers, or

paid the king's subsidies with the sums disbursed by their serfs for their freedom. Had Philip lived to the common age of man, it is difficult to say what might have been the result of the new elements which he had introduced into his government: but his successors rapidly undid his work. The people had groaned under the load of fiscal exactions, and the constant changes in the monetary system, which impeded trade and rendered property uncertain; and the clamour for redress of grievances was very general when his son Louis X. succeeded to the throne. Young and inexperienced, he was willing to grant what was asked; but it is very seldom that an aggrieved people knows the true remedy for the ills it has suffered under. The debased coinage and the arbitrary proceedings in criminal causes were the main evils; but the remedy sought was—a return to the customs and privileges of a century back—the right of private war,—the power of private coinage,—judicial combat and separate courts of law for different provinces: while the university of Paris demanded that its members should be subject only to its own jurisdiction.—These demands were granted, and France retrograded an hundred years! The emancipation of the serfs having been successful

as a fiscal measure, Louis X. published an *ordonnance* on that subject also, encouraging the people to buy their freedom ; declaring at the same time that to hold any one in servitude was depriving him of a part of his natural rights, and was consequently a grievous wrong : but though a second edict of the same kind was published, the measure did not succeed ; probably the benefits of freedom being remote, and the sacrifice of property to obtain it being immediate, many had been discontented with their bargain, and discouraged others from following their example.

In England there does not appear to have been any new law on the subject, but the condition of villenage nevertheless was becoming much more rare in this century. The law which was introduced shortly after the conquest, that a year's unmolested residence in any town or castle should render the villein free, had emancipated so many, that about the middle of this century the labourers and servants working for wages were a class numerous enough to be the subject of a special enactment. Great changes are usually so gradual in their progress that it is not possible to point out how and when they took place : an increase of intelligence on the

part of the people,—the growing refinement of the upper classes, bringing with it more humane views,—the mirror held up to human nature in the Christian law, which none can wholly ignore if they reflect at all,—all go to form public opinion; and if that once pronounces its fiat, the question is only one of time: the change *must* take place. The edict of Louis X. was but the reflection of the spirit of the age; and it was evident that servitude could not long survive such an acknowledgment,* but that spirit had been formed and cherished elsewhere;—in the free republics of Italy where arts and letters were already flourishing with a vigour which gave an impulse to all Europe: in the rich and industrious mercantile communities of Germany and Flanders; and among the mountaineers of Switzerland, whose heroic resistance to the ty-

* The subject is too large an one to be fully treated here. Those who wish to know more will find it discussed at length in Hallam's *Hist. Midd. Ages*, in Sismondi's *Hist. des Rep. Italiennes*, and his *Hist. des Français* under the reigns of Phil. IV. and Louis X. Though villenage had in great measure ceased in England by the middle of the 14th cent. I find in the first-named author mention of the enfranchisement of bondmen and bondwomen on payment of a fine as late as the reign of Elizabeth.

ranny of Austria, won for them both political independence, and a fame which may rank worthily beside that of the conquerors at Marathon. Human nature was beginning to recognise and exercise its powers, and consequently its rights; and serfdom could not long co-exist with these.

Meanwhile a new revolution was taking place in the east. We have already seen the swarm of Mogul Tartars overrunning Asia like a flight of locusts, and even threatening Europe: but the successors of Genghis Khan sought more to enjoy what their great predecessor had won, than to consolidate an empire: vice and effeminacy succeeded; and the Mogul power sunk nearly as rapidly as it had risen. As this empire decayed, the Turkman tribes, which had with difficulty maintained themselves against the conquering race, began to recover themselves. Othman,—the son of Ortageul, a Turkman chieftain, who had only reckoned four hundred warriors as his followers,—was now able to assemble so considerable a force that in the summer of 1299 he ventured to invade the territory of Nicomedia, a province belonging to the Greek empire; and instead of withdrawing with his plunder, as these marauders had usually done, he took and fortified several posts in the country he had entered,

thus creating for himself a permanent hold upon the territory he had won. It is from this chief that the Turks date the commencement of their empire, which at no long distance of time again threatened Europe with a flood of barbarism ; and in about a century and a half did succeed in wiping out all remains of Oriental civilisation.

Since the year 1453, when the barbarians of Upper Asia first pitched their tents in the capital of the Eastern empire, just four centuries have elapsed : a hundred and fifty years had sufficed them to spread their empire over half the civilised world, yet hemmed in and surrounded as they now are by the arts and sciences of Europe, which from their aggressive nature threaten their very existence, the Turks are still barbarians ; and it is only in the present century that a faint effort has been made to meet European policy by some approximation to European tactics. The fact is a remarkable one, and enters necessarily into our subject of the state of man subsequent to the promulgation of Christianity ; for the question may fairly be asked, why the conquerors of the Eastern and the Western empire ran so different a career. Probably the answer will be found in the different system of religious faith adopted by the respective tribes. To found a

great and enduring empire the laws must be just : to make a race capable of great physical and mental exertions, the morals must be such as to curb excesses which enervate both mind and body : to make men invincible in battle there must be a hope of a life beyond that which they are putting to hazard. Mohammed supplied some of these necessary conditions, he neglected others ; and the rapid downfall of the Arab, and the continued barbarism of the Turkish empire bear unmistakeable evidence to the facts. To obtain that almost unlimited progress which man seems capable of, the religious system must be in perfect accordance with his nature : it must serve at once as a compass and a rudder, to point the way first, and then to enable him to follow it. The despotic rule of the Caliphs, whose word was to have the force of a divine law, soon depraved both those who exercised and those who submitted to it ; and the large liberty given to the sensuality which the natives of a hot climate are too ready to indulge in, soon enervated the race of warriors whose hope of a future life had for a time made them scorn the present, and by that self devotion had established an empire with such astounding rapidity. The Ottoman empire, had it not been protected by the

jealousy of European states rather than its own force, would long ago have followed that of the Arabs ; while the wild Northmen in one century and a half from the time when they accepted a local habitation and a name in Gaul, and received Christianity, though, in a very corrupt version, became the civilisers of Europe, which in their heathen state they had reduced again to barbarism by their inroads.

From the schools of Normandy went forth scholars whose works even yet maintain their value ; and who gave the impulse, which is even yet felt, to philosophy and science. Nor was this a singular instance : the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, which it required all the force of the Eastern empire, the alliance of the barbarian tribes, and the great talents and indomitable resolution of Belisarius, to conquer, rose to that eminence under the influence of Christianity, in an incredibly short space of time : and had Belisarius acceded to their earnest request, and accepted the proffered crown, the Western empire would have been revived in a race which had conquered, with all the nomade habits still strong upon it, only about eighty years before. Could we map out the world so as to mark the countries where the largest portion of pure Christianity was

received, we should see the progress of science and civilisation continuing *pari passu* with that highest of all philosophy, exactly because its fundamental principle of equality before God tends to elevate the masses ; and unless all classes go forward together, the man of science may make discoveries indeed, but fails to render them available to the world, for want of workmen to carry out his plans.

The work of Christianity in the world has been impeded at every step by prejudice, self-interest, mistaken views, and all the other foes to truth which so easily range themselves in battle array against any innovation ; so much impeded indeed, that many a man who has been disgusted by the doctrines preached under its name, will deny its efficacy towards regenerating the world ; yet even he, when striving to reconstruct a system which *will work*, is obliged to return to those first principles which form the basis of the Christian code. Polytheism never arrived at the one great rule which no legislator would now venture theoretically to deny, whatever he may do in practice ;—i. e. equality in the eye of the law : yet this is nothing else than a metonymy : for equality before God, or before the law, is but a change of terms without a change of meaning :

and every other principle of sound government will be found equally to coincide with the all embracing philosophy of the gospel:—for the wood and straw and stubble which have been heaped by the hands of men on the broad foundation there laid, let the men who brought the rubbish be answerable: the sooner it is cleared away the better.

Philip IV. of France, at his death A. D. 1314, left three sons grown to man's estate, but A. D. 1328 all three had died, leaving no male issue. It had been a question at the death of Louis X. whether his young daughter, a child under six years of age, or his brother Philip, then in the bloom of manhood, should succeed. The law was by no means fixed, but when Philip rather seized than inherited the crown, that which excluded females from the throne in France had not been heard of.* To justify his act Philip convened the States General, but this assembly was still so little cared for by the people as a part of their privileges, that many both of the barons and deputies of the towns in distant provinces, avoided the journey as a useless expense, and merely sent what we should call a proxy, to

* V. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, in loc.

some courtier, to vote for them. Before this assembly the new law for the exclusion of females from the succession was proposed by the chancellor, and assented to. Nevertheless, as the States were held under the control of the king who had usurped the throne, inasmuch as he had no legal title to it at the time he possessed himself of the sovereignty, the validity of the law might be contested with some show of justice by those who thought themselves aggrieved by its provisions. Edward II. of England had espoused the daughter of Philip IV. and their son, afterwards Edward III. was therefore the grandson of that monarch, while Philip of Valois, who had seized the crown at the death of the last of the sons of Philip IV. was only his nephew,—the son of Charles of Valois his brother: it became therefore once more a matter of dispute whether the male or female line should inherit. The wars which desolated France during more than a century, were the consequence of this disputed succession.

The first provocation, however, was offered by Philip of Valois, as well by his assistance to the Scots, as by his encroachments on the English possessions in the south of France: for Edward was too conscious of the tremendous na-

ture of the conflict, to rush into it lightly. The young king of England had married the daughter of the Count of Hainault, and when he found that a war with France seemed inevitable, he turned his eyes at once to Flanders, as a natural and most useful ally. The Count of Flanders, who was devoted to France, had for a time subdued his subjects by the aid of French troops, and had deprived them of many of the privileges they had before enjoyed: but men who have once enjoyed freedom do not readily give it up; and moreover the woollen cloths manufactured by the Fleming formed an article of lucrative trade with England. If the count in obedience to the French king joined in the war, which now appeared imminent, this trade would be ruined: the French were unpopular, their tyrannical rule while they were masters of the country, had left an indelible impression, and the opportunity was favourable for recovering independence. A rich brewer of Ghent, Jacob von Arteveld, first gave voice to the feelings of the people. He assembled a meeting of the citizens to deliberate on the danger to their commerce from the impending war: the officers of the count considering him as a factious demagogue, resolved on the following night to put him to death, but the at-

tempt caused the very evil they had endeavoured to avoid by such unjustifiable means : the people rose in insurrection, and the count's agents, alarmed by the state of things, abandoned one town after another, till the popular party remained masters of the country. Arteveld was charged with the government, and it was in consequence of his advice that Edward took on himself the title of king of France ; for Flanders being still an acknowledged fief of that crown, the aid which the king of England required from them could only be given legally to the inheritor of the suzerainty.

On the twenty-first of August 1337, Edward caused war to be declared ; and in the treaty made immediately after with the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, he styles Philip " the pretender to the crown of France." It is remarkable that in beginning this war, Edward felt the necessity of justifying it to his people, and on the twenty-eighth of August he sent a manifesto to the bishops and lieutenants of the different counties, which they were charged to read to the assembled people, in order to explain the causes of the war, and the efforts made by the king to preserve peace. Philip of Valois, on the contrary, made no attempt to enlighten his people on the

subject,* although the assembly of the States General which had been sanctioned by his immediate predecessors, would have offered the ready means. Thus in Europe as in Greece, the two principles of government were already beginning to develop themselves; and England, like Athens, became more and more iden-

* "When we study the history of the fourteenth century in contemporary writers and records, we are astonished to find this war of succession present itself under such different aspects in the two nations. It was in fact the struggle of a nation against one man; that of the English nation against the king of France. Although the two countries did not seem to differ much in their institutions, the spirit by which they were animated was very different. The English nation had preserved its living existence, and its kings, who derived their whole strength from it, felt the necessity of making it a party to their passions and their schemes. They asked its counsel on all occasions, they gave it an account of their actions; they communicated to it thus the sentiments by which they were themselves animated, and found their resources in its energy. The French nation, on the contrary, was plunged in a dead slumber: its kings had thought it to their honour that an impenetrable veil should surround the throne: they never addressed themselves to the nation which they thought made to obey, not to be associated with them; they chose that their orders should come unexpectedly from the sanctuary, like lightning in the midst of universal silence."—Sismondi, *Hist. du Français*, A. D. 1338.

tified with the popular movement, which has gone on gathering force down to our own day.

The contest between the two kings went on with various success till August 1346, when the famous battle of Crécy turned the whole fortune of the war. The faults which lost that battle showed no less want of humanity than of generalship; and terrible as the defeat was, it was amply merited by the cowardly massacre of the Genoese cross-bowmen ordered by Philip in his rage when he saw them discomfited in consequence of the drenched condition of their bows from the continued rain. The confusion consequent on this inhuman order was one of the causes of the defeat: but it was here that artillery for the first time was brought into the field; and probably the effect of this new arm had its share in the result. "The king of England," says Villani, "had placed among his archers bombardars, which, together with fire threw little balls of iron to frighten and destroy the horses, and the report of these bombardars caused as much shock and noise as if it had been God's thunder, and was attended with a great massacre of people, and overthrow of horses." To whom Edward was indebted for this new aid in the art of war, destined afterwards to change the whole system of attack and defence, we are not told.

It would be easy to expatiate on the events of this war, for we have at last a chronicler * who gives to his narrative all the life-like interest requisite to captivate the imagination ; but battles and towns won or lost, although they afford room for many instances of individual heroism or brutality, are not, after all, the history of the race. A nation may sometimes be freed or subdued by a single battle indeed, but other circumstances had long been preparing the result of that decisive combat. No one will doubt that when two or three battles gave the vast empire of Persia into the hands of Alexander, those defeats had been prepared long before by the vices of the internal administration ; and we must rather seek for the causes of the English successes in France in the different system of government pursued in the two countries, than in the mere generalship of the respective commanders. The English archers, who almost always turned the fortune of the day, were of that stout agricultural middle class cherished by the institutions of the country, whose property, though small, gave them a stake worth fighting for. In France the contests between the com-

* Froissart.

munes and the nobility had been carried on with so much rancour, that these last wherever they were victorious, endeavoured to prevent its recurrence, by keeping the commonalty unpractised in the use of weapons : the consequence was, that when they were brought into the field, they were but an undisciplined crowd, which impeded rather than aided the operations of the gallant cavalry which formed the strength of the French army, but which at the same time confided far too much in the mere impetuosity of its charge. The defeats which nearly annihilated the French monarchy may therefore be traced back to a long period of misgovernment and degradation and oppression of the peasantry, which rendered them incapable of acting effectually in the field, quite as much as to the incapacity of the leaders.

The commerce of Italy with the Levant had introduced the plague: famine is the consequence of the ravages of war; and the misery endured by the lower orders prepared them to receive the pestilence. In 1347 it began to show itself in France; and in the course of 1348 its ravages had been such that contemporary writers calculate the mortality at one-third of the population. From France it spread over

the rest of Europe, and even when it appeared to have spent itself, it broke out again with equal malignity about twelve years after, in consequence of the increasing misery of the inhabitants in the countries which were the theatre of war; and this included almost all Europe. The malady was so fearfully rapid in its course, that the ignorant multitude—always prone to unreasonable fears—suspected poison, and having been taught to regard the Jews with superstitious hatred, the infuriated populace in many places set upon this unfortunate race, and without trial or proof burned them alive, upon the accusation of having poisoned the springs. Scarcely less unreasonable was the notion of the king of France that the dreadful visitation was immediately from God, as a punishment for the sin of blasphemy; and his endeavour to avert it by cruel punishments of offenders in this way. It took long to teach the lesson, perhaps it is even yet scarcely learned, that poverty, ignorance, and vice, are the causes of disease; and that if pestilence comes, it comes not as an immediate interference with the laws of nature, but mediately through the unswerving operation of those very laws. Had the general condition of the people been better cared for, the disease would

soon have lost its virulence, and many a valuable life would have been spared: but Philip, while making edicts against blasphemy, left his subjects a prey to every kind of rapacity; and added to their misery by constantly tampering with the currency, by way of remedying financial difficulties. The supposed remedy, however, did but increase the disease, and put the finishing hand to the ruin of the wretched peasantry.

The king and most of his nobility had been made prisoners in the battle of Poitiers, A. D. 1356: large sums were required for their ransom, and these were to be raised by exactions from "*Jacques bon homme*," as they called the peasantry in derision; the little which was left after the requisitions of their lords had been paid, was plundered by the free companies, as they called themselves,—namely military robbers, who under an elected chief, spread themselves over the country, and carried off or destroyed every thing of value. Some of these bands consisted of many thousand men, skilled in arms, and ready to sell their services to any one who could pay them; but in the mean time they treated every man as a foe who had any thing worth taking. One of these bands proceeded to Avignon, and after having extorted a

heavy contribution from the fears of the pontiff, the leader was feasted in the papal palace, and the whole of his men absolved from their sins. The crimes of these fifteen thousand bandits wiped out without repentance or amendment of life! — What wonder that popes were infidels, if this indeed were Christianity!

The public treasury was exhausted; the States General were convened to provide a remedy; but unaccustomed to deliberation on such weighty subjects, uninstructed in the rudiments even of political economy, a direct tax upon articles of common consumption was all that this assembly could devise. The people driven to desperation, could bear no more: many thousands assembled, rudely armed with staves or agricultural tools, if they had any left, and attacked castles and towns, breathing only vengeance against their oppressors. Brutalised as they were by misery and ignorance, it was not to be expected that they would use their victory mildly when they had won it; and the excesses which marked their course during their short success were such that the intolerable wrongs which provoked such terrible reprisals, are forgotten by contemporary writers in the horror felt at their crimes. But ill armed and undisciplined, they were no

match for the cavaliers who attacked them now with all the energy of men who were defending the honour and lives of themselves, their wives, and their children ; and the wretched insurgents known as the "*Jacquerie*," in about six weeks were exterminated rather than subdued. The plague had already thinned the population, and the slaughter of the *Jacquerie* left many districts without a hand to till the earth.

While France was devastated by war, and seemed retrograding towards the state in which the ravages of the Northmen had left it at the beginning of the tenth century ; and while Germany, constantly distracted by rival competitors for the empire, was losing its influence in Europe, Italy was fast rising to that eminence which for a time rendered it the civiliser of the world. Its small republics reproduced all the activity in trade, in art, and in learning, which had characterized Greece in its greatest prosperity ; and as in that country, the petty wars and jealousy of rival towns served to awaken the intellect, and give scope for an honourable ambition ; so in Italy, as the stream of public affairs never flowed evenly for more than a few years at a time, the continual disturbance threw to the surface whatever there was of talent below.

Every citizen felt that he individually had it in his power to give fame and greatness to his native country ; and amid much of intrigue, of ferocity, and occasionally of treachery, the Italian mind pressed forward with a rapidity astonishing to the slower natives of the north. The language was formed by Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, &c. ; painting was revived by Giotto and his followers ; and commerce was more than revived by the princely merchants of Florence, Genoa, and Venice.* But Rome meanwhile was abandoned : the popes had fixed their residence at Avignon : the government, never good, was worse administered in their absence ;—the barons fortifying their residences, found themselves in a situation to command impunity, and exercised their rapacity unimpeded. It was a state of things not to be long endured, and a deputation was sent from the people of Rome, A. D. 1342, to represent to Clement VI. the condition of the country. The deputation consisted of Petrarca, already famed for his learning ; and a

* It is impossible in this work to follow up the history of the Italian republics, and happily the able work of M. de Sismondi has rendered it needless. For those who are not inclined to go through his larger work, he has himself abridged it.

man of the people, the son of an innkeeper,* who had been selected perhaps as better acquainted than his erudite colleague with the grievances of the middling classes. The pope was struck with the talent of the low-born orator, and sent him back invested with office. This did but convince Colas the more profoundly that the original fault lay in the plan of the government; and he formed the splendid scheme of restoring the ancient institutions. This had been attempted once before, and had failed; but now that so many flourishing republics had established themselves in Italy, notwithstanding the efforts of the German emperors to subdue them, the plan did not seem altogether chimerical. But the oratory which can rouse a people to action is one thing, the power of guiding that action wisely is another; and it is very rarely that the two are found combined: for the last needs a calm mind, enlightened by study and an extensive acquaintance with affairs, while the former needs only an impassioned eloquence, which ill accords with the cautious proceeding of a man anxious to ac-

* His father's name was Lorenzo, contracted by the Romans into Rienzo; hence the son was called Colas di Rienzo.—V. Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.* in loc.

compish changes which may be beneficial to his country with the least possible risk ; and awakened passion is seldom wise or moderate. The popular orator, therefore, is too often either a weak-headed or an unprincipled man : in the first case, which appears to have been that of Colas di Rienzo, success is fatal, because he has not legislative skill enough for his position, and is too much elated by sudden advancement to power either to foresee possible reverses, or to seek the aid of wiser though more prosaic men : —in the last, a despotism commonly is the result, whichever party may prevail. The republic of Rome lasted but a few months ; the vanity and extravagant expense of the self-appointed tribune disgusted the people, who withdrew their favour as quickly as they had given it ; and the exiled nobles once more resumed their sway in the city : a few years afterwards, when his shortcomings were forgotten, and the first steps in the reform of abuses only remembered, he was recalled, and made a triumphal entry into the city which he had quitted in disgrace : but he was still unequal to the position he was placed in : the tide of popular favour soon ebbcd, and he was finally put to death by the very people who had thought to regenerate the state of Rome

under his guidance. The attempted restoration of the republic was but the flickering of the expiring lamp, and with the last of the tribunes Roman freedom was extinguished; whether for ever remains for posterity to decide.

In England the death of the black prince, and that of his father shortly after, left the kingdom a prey to all the evils of a minority: the parliament complained of maladministration, and granted fresh taxes unwillingly. The familiar sermons of such of the clergy as had embraced the reformed doctrines, in which the scriptures were freely quoted in the vernacular tongue, had aroused the popular mind; and the great doctrine of Christianity,—the equality of all men before God, preached with less of prudence than marked the proceedings of the Apostles, roused a very general discontent among the serfs; who found themselves in a state of servitude which they justly thought had no warranty in the immutable laws of God; and being a mere social question, was open to discussion. “The people of Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Bedford,” says Froissart, “began to stir because they said they were kept in great bondage, and in the beginning of the world, they said there were no bondmen . . . They were men formed in the simili-

tude of their lords . . . and if they laboured for them they would be paid for it, like any other: and of this opinion was a foolish priest of the county of Kent, named John Ball; who used often on the Sunday after mass, when the people were going out of church, to preach to them, saying, ‘ Ah! good people, the affairs of England are not as they ought to be . . . why should we be thus kept in servitude? we are all come from the same parents, Adam and Eve; —whereby can they show that they are greater lords than we are?’ &c. Therefore many of the mean people loved him; and said he spoke truth.”—He was imprisoned for sedition by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but when set free he renewed his preaching.

It is evident that the chronicler had little sympathy with the people; yet enough transpires in these few words to show the real cause of the insurrection which took place shortly after. Serfdom was now become an exceptional state: a large portion of the population was free, and worked for wages, and the comparison between the two necessarily caused discontent; besides, it is likely that the exactions of their lords were heavier during the long wars of the last reign, which entailed large expenses on those who were

obliged to serve in them, not always defrayed by the plunder of the conquered country. In 1377 a poll tax was granted by the parliament, and paid without complaint: but when, shortly after, another was laid on, and collected with circumstances of unusual provocation, the popular indignation at last broke all bounds. A bricklayer, engaged in tiling a house at Dartford in Kent, was called from his work by the cries of his wife, who was endeavouring to defend her daughter from the brutality of the taxgatherer. He ran to the spot with his tool in his hand, and when the man struck at him, knocked him down with a blow that laid him dead at his feet. The people, already incensed by instances of the same kind, flocked round him, and Wat the Tyler soon saw himself at the head of a formidable insurrection.

The king treated with the insurgents, and granted their first demands, namely, immunity from the penalty of their rebellion, and charters at once abolishing servitude and villenage wherever it might still exist. But whilst some were returning home, satisfied with what they had obtained, others, who had remained in London, seized and murdered several of the most obnoxious of the king's ministers; and proceeded to

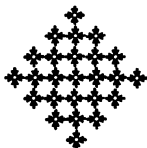
other acts of violence which alarmed the citizens who had at first favoured them. The rest of the tale is well known; the Tyler, elated by success, and rude and rough in his manners, treated the king with disrespect, and was slain on the spot by the Mayor of London who was present, and thought the king's life in danger. The militia of the city, marshalled by some of the king's knights who happened to be there, in the mean time arrived at the place of conference; and the insurgents were dispersed. The king having demanded back his charters of freedom from those who were still upon the field, they were quietly given up: and this formidable tumult was appeased, in less than a fortnight from its outbreak. The king when he next met his parliament alluded to the manumission he had granted to the serfs, and offered to confirm it: but the lords and prelates who composed the greater part of the assembly, were too much interested in the question to be inclined to second the royal commission. They unanimously declared against it, but had at least the wisdom to ask for the pardon of the rioters, against whom the lord chief justice had been proceeding with a severity as illegal as it was inhuman. The amnesty was granted, and order apparently re-

stored, but the discontent still smouldered, and after many years of contest between the people who asked more liberty, and the king who wished to abridge what they had; his deposition A. D. 1399, and the elevation of his cousin, the Duke of Lancaster, to the throne, confirmed the triumph of the popular party.

Though the insurrection of the *Jacquerie* in France, and that of Wat the Tyler in England had some features in common, there are nevertheless circumstances in the two which mark a considerable difference in the condition of the people, and show that the limitation of the royal prerogative by the parliament, and the resolute enforcement of the old Saxon law, had not been wholly without its use. When the insurgents entered London we are told that their conduct was at first orderly; they paid for what they took, and allowed no robbery: a plain proof that they were not driven to insurrection by want: and their demands from first to last showed rather the sturdy determination to enjoy their rights as free men, than the desperate vengeance which armed the French *Jacquerie*. The insurgents, under Wat the Tyler, murdered persons whom they suspected of counselling the king amiss: the *Jacquerie* attacked both sexes and all

ages with indiscriminating ferocity: the French insurgents were slaughtered,—the English dispersed: already, therefore, the more popular form of government was exercising some influence for good over all classes; and though the proceedings of the middle ages in England, as elsewhere, were rough and rude enough, we may still see in them the germ of a better state of things. Centuries, it is true, have had to do their work slowly and painfully, ere the true solution of the great problem of government was even guessed at; but while most other nations were losing the remembrance of their old barbarian freedom, and substituting nothing better in its place, the English people with sturdy perseverance held fast their old Saxon institutions, till time and circumstances modelled them into a shape fitted to the period. Perhaps this is all that can be expected from human laws; but let us at least take care that as time wears on, these laws and these institutions *are* fitted to the period. Let no undue reverence for ancient customs, prevent us from seeing that there is an absolute good which all should aim at; and that there can be neither security nor happiness for the few, when the many are ignorant and miserable: that science, art, and trade equally require the aid of

the intelligent artisan to arrive at perfection: and that therefore the state which first reaches the culminating beatitude of Christianity, of regarding all men as brothers, engaged in different pursuits indeed, but not thereby degraded, will have first worked out the will of the Creator and have solved the great problem of human existence—the happiness, not of the greatest number, but of all.





CHAPTER VI.

THE STATE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

IT appears to have been the plan of some of the greatest men who had been raised to the papal dignity, to form a spiritual empire, which should rule paramount over the princes of the earth: perhaps a misunderstanding of the announcement, that finally, all should become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ, might have led them to think that this was the consummation designed by Providence; for it is hardly possible that men whose moral sense had not been weakened by vice,—and some of the popes were both learned and pious,—should have continued to pursue a system of shameless self-aggrandisement without some such self-delusion.* The

* “ As early as the beginning of the twelfth century Prior Gerohus ventured to say, ‘ It will come to pass

object was accomplished now : the supreme pontiff was the sole authority in spiritual matters throughout Europe, and his enmity was terrible even to the greatest temporal sovereigns : yet never was the world farther from the state which probably had been the day-dream of those severe and sagacious men who had laboured to establish the spiritual tyranny which was now complete.

The opening of this century was signalised by two events which made a terrible revelation of the rottenness of the whole system. We have already seen that Philip IV. of France had given his people large room for complaint by his fiscal exactions, and the severities exercised under the superintendence of obsequious lawyers against any whom the king chose to ruin. Boniface VIII. was attached to France, and had on many occasions shown his partiality ; but when the bishop of Pamiers, his legate, was arrested and brought before a civil tribunal at the command of Philip, under an accusation of plotting against

that the golden pillars of the monarchy will be utterly shattered, and every great empire will be divided into tetrarchies ; not till then will the church be free and unfettered under the protecting care of the great crowned priest.' ” Ranke's *History of the Popes*, quoted from Schröckh *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. xxvii. p. 117.

the king; and his servants were put to the torture to extract some criminating confession, the pontiff's patience failed, and he at last addressed the famous bull, beginning "*Ausculta fili*" to the king; in which he set forth, in plain terms, the various royal malversations which were public and patent to all. "Let no one persuade you, dear son," says he, "that you have no superior, and that you owe no submission to the sovereign pontiff . . . whatever tenderness we may feel towards you, your ancestors, your royal house and kingdom, we ought not to pass over in silence the grief you cause us, when you offend the Divine majesty by the oppression of your subjects, as well laity as priests, whose hearts you alienate by all sorts of exactions;" which he then particularizes.

Whatever might be the faults of Boniface himself, these were truths, all the more unpalatable because they were so; and Philip IV. was not a man to take such a lecture quietly. His chancellor Pierre Flotte,* was charged to ex-

* It is to be remarked, that the civil offices of the state were now in the hands of lay jurists, who were jealous of ecclesiastical power; and who probably envenomed the wound which had been inflicted on Philip's pride by the bull in question.

plain to the States General, the insult which had been offered to the king, and through him to the whole realm of France, by this bull : but under pretext of not wearying the assembly, a mere abstract of a few lines appears to have been read, and the damning facts which had been given in detail in the original document were thus kept out of sight. The prelates, barons, and deputies, deliberated in their separate chambers ; and each sent a letter to Rome, repudiating in strong terms the pretensions of the holy see, to exercise jurisdiction over their king. The pope replied in dignified and temperate language ; but he excommunicated the king, and summoned the bishops to a council. Philip forbade them to leave the kingdom ; and some few having obeyed the summons in spite of his prohibition he seized upon their bishoprics, and confiscated their revenues to the public service. His treasury having been exhausted by the Flemish war, he replenished it by all kinds of arbitrary exactions, and prepared for his contest with Rome by making peace with England, and a truce of a year with Flanders shortly after. The battle with the pope was to be fought not with arms, but with money ; and once provided with this, he soon effected his purpose, and Boniface was made prisoner by

his agents. Worst of all in the struggle for power, the proud heart of the pontiff broke under the sense of the indignities he had suffered, and he died of frenzy fever very shortly after. Another pope, Benedict XI. having ventured to excommunicate the persons concerned in the outrage on his predecessor, died after partaking of a plate of figs brought him by an unknown person; and finally Clement V. was placed in the pontifical chair by the interest of Philip, on condition that the memory of his great adversary should be blackened beyond remedy by public inquiry into his actions and opinions, which he insisted were heretical. The king alleged that his zeal for the holy catholic faith required him to call the attention of the pontiff to the heresies and immoralities of Boniface; and his legal tools produced witnesses to substantiate the charges, which they professed to bring forward on their own responsibility. The accusations were—“ that he did not believe in the immortality of the soul, nor in a judgment to come; nor in the real presence in the eucharist:—that he had often said, that there was no sin in any of the defilements of the flesh, and conducted himself accordingly:—that he had approved a book of Arnaud de Villeneuve, condemned by the In-

quisition at Paris; had erected statues to his own honour, at the risk of leading the people into idolatry; had had successively many ministering demons given him by different necromancers; had professed that a pope could not be guilty of simony, and had therefore sold all kinds of ecclesiastical dignities by the agency of a Florentine banker: had caused several murders to be committed in his presence; had forced confessors to reveal to him what they had learned under the seal of confession; had eaten meat, and permitted his family to do so on fast days; had despised the monks and called them hypocrites; had contemned the cardinals, and refused to consult them on the affairs of the church; had endeavoured to unite the kings of Christendom to crush what he called the Gallican pride; had contributed to the loss of the Holy Land, by taking for his own purposes the money destined for its defence; and finally that he had imprisoned, and probably put to death his predecessor Celestine V."

These charges were supported by an immense number of witnesses: many of them indeed, from the very nature of their testimony were too infamous to allow us to attach much weight to their depositions; but there were others whom it is

not so easy to disbelieve. Among these were certain monks of St. Gregory at Rome, who having complained to the pontiff that their abbot denied the immortality of the soul, and affirmed that the sins of the flesh were but a requirement of nature, and therefore innocent; he asked them in reply, if they had ever seen a dead man return to life? and finally dismissed them, saying, "Go and believe as your abbot does: you are very insolent, to fancy that you know more than he does."—Many ecclesiastics and lawyers agreed in their report of conversations held in their presence, in which he spoke of the dogmata received by the catholic church as absurd and contradictory; saying that such a faith was good for the vulgar; but that no really learned man could believe it. The witnesses, however, whose depositions are at once the strongest and the most deserving of belief, are those who repeat the conversation of Boniface the year of the jubilee in the presence of the ambassadors of Florence, Bologna, and Lucca. After their public audience these witnesses were more familiarly received by him along with the ambassadors; and the death of a certain knight having been announced to him, "Boniface," said they, "declared openly that the soul died with the

body ; that the world was eternal ; that Christ was a mere man, and a great hypocrite, who having been unable to help himself was still less able to help others." All these grave and religious men remained astonished and silent, while the head of the church was thus addressing them, and giving voice to opinions which it was neither to his interest nor his credit to profess : one only among them, Antonio di Galuzzi, ambassador of Bologna, replied. " There is nothing better then to be done, holy father, than to enjoy the pleasures of this world, since we have no other to expect,"—to which he replied by his customary exculpation of sensual indulgences. Three witnesses, men of high rank in their own country ; all three presented to the pope, and admitted in the suite of the ambassadors, united in this deposition : one of them, Stefano Poggi, was the son of the ambassador of Lucca.

The deposition of two witnesses in the suite of Roger Loria, the great Sicilian admiral, was not less extraordinary. When after having for a long time fought for the independence of his country against both France and the pontiffs, by whom the French princes were supported, this great man at last submitted to the pope and

asked absolution; Boniface, they said replied to the expressions of devotion and repentance uttered by the admiral, by denying all the dogmata of the religion to which the quondam Sicilian patriot was about to sacrifice even his country;—affirming that there was no soul which survived the body, no future reward, no end in life but material and sensual gratifications;—that Jesus Christ was only a man and that he,—the pope,—was much more powerful than Christ, for that he could humiliate and impoverish kings, emperors, and princes; while, on the other hand, he could give cities and kingdoms, and raise a poor knight to be a powerful king.”*

It was impossible wholly to disbelieve this testimony: yet if it were to be admitted as true, the affairs of Rome were in irretrievable confusion, for the edicts of an heretical pope could not be considered as binding: and the acts done by

* I quote from Sismondi's *Histoire des Français*, where this extraordinary transaction is given at length. The whole is so curious that those who have the means will do well to refer to that author, who has extracted largely from the original documents. A long and intimate acquaintance with that very clever writer and excellent man, enables me to say that he was indefatigable in his researches, and that therefore his history is thoroughly trustworthy.

him, the orders conferred, and the synods held, were alike illegal and invalid. The dilemma was a painful one; for either the whole government of the church must be upset, and every act from the beginning of Boniface's pontificate be rescinded, or the king of France and his agents must be convicted of subornation of perjury. It is not very clear how the difficulty was got over; but it seems most probable that Philip, unwilling to invalidate the election of a pontiff so much devoted to his service as Clement V. relaxed in his pursuit; and left the business to be dealt with by the pope and cardinals, who were but too happy to hush the scandal; and the memory of Boniface was absolved, not cleared,—from the charges brought against him.

But the pontiff had not yet done all that Philip required of him: he was to be yet farther degraded by being made the king's tool in a far more unworthy proceeding. The new object which this imperious monarch had in view was as usual a fiscal one, and his policy was not often arrested in its course by either justice or compassion. He had already sacrificed two classes of moneyed men to the wants of his exchequer; namely, the Lombard merchants, who had settled in France; and the Jews; both of which had

been robbed, maltreated, and banished or put to death, on the most flimsy pretexts, their real crime being that they were rich, and that the king's exchequer was empty. The sums obtained by the plunder of these unfortunate foreigners being exhausted, fresh victims were now to be offered up to the financial Moloch, and Philip cast his eyes on the Knights Templars.

This order, which had been established about a hundred years before, was one of the richest in Europe: it consisted of gentlemen of the best families in Christendom, to the number of many thousands; and their blood had been shed profusely in what was then deemed a holy cause; namely in combat against the Unbelievers. It was hardly to be expected that these military monks, surrounded by all the temptations to licentiousness which their peculiar situation engendered, would keep their vow of chastity very strictly: for even those who were engaged in holy ministry, in many, nay perhaps most instances, were stained with vices which we now pass over in silence because the mention of them is an offence against decency. The process carried on against the memory of Boniface VIII. and the well known irregularities of many of his predecessors, showed that the highest dignities

in the hierarchy were not exempted from these scandals : it is therefore exceedingly probable that when the wealth of the Templars began to excite the cupidity of monarchs, charges might be brought against their morals which it would be impossible to disprove : and it is equally probable that many among them shared in the opinions which popes and abbots seem currently to have maintained with regard to the doctrines of the church ; namely that they were good only for the vulgar. All that is philosophical and rational in Christianity had disappeared under a load of formal observances, legendary superstitions, and absurd doctrines ; yet this heterogeneous mass was still called the religion of Christ : the natural consequence was a large amount of scepticism as to the truth of a system which, professing to be divine, afforded nothing to convince the understanding, or satisfy the heart. So far therefore it is probable that the dispositions against the Templars, which told of loose morals, and carelessness or disbelief of the dogmata of the church, might have a foundation of truth : but the course of proceeding adopted in France with regard to these, at least valiant cavaliers, to whom Christendom owed some gratitude for the toils they had borne, and the blood they had

shed in defence of the objects which all had at heart,—was such as no circumstances could justify. Secret orders were issued that on a certain specified day* all the knights should be arrested by the legal authorities in the respective districts, and their property sequestrated. Two days afterwards the king caused the charges made against them to be published in the churches; and the judges were encouraged and authorized to draw from the accused a confession of the truth of these charges, by alternating the cruellest tortures with fallacious promises of pardon and protection if they would acknowledge their guilt. Under the extremity of suffering the wretched victims in some cases confessed a part of the charges, but retracted when released; in most the confessions were so contradictory as to form no good ground of accusation, and only proved that those who made them had not physical strength or moral firmness sufficient to withstand the torments inflicted on them.

One slight attempt to shelter these unhappy cavaliers from the persecution directed against them, was made by the pontiff, who endeavoured to stay the proceedings by requiring that the

* October 13, 1307.

cause should be brought before him: but he was far too much in the power of the king of France, both mentally and bodily, to dare to persevere in his opposition; and his cowardice sealed the fate of these unfortunate gentlemen. Not a shadow of credible evidence had been brought against them, and the charges were in most instances so ridiculous or so disgusting, and the practices imputed to them so utterly without any conceivable object, that they could never have obtained credit from any but persons determined on their destruction, and anxious to prejudice the commonalty against them, lest so glaring an act of tyranny should excite tumult, and lead to the rescue of the victims: for injustice necessarily generates fresh injustice; and these gallant knights had already been outraged too much to be allowed to escape.

Let me spare my readers and myself the horrible detail of their sufferings: suffice it to say that most of them died, constantly denying in the midst of their torments, that they had been guilty of the crimes imputed to them. The Grand Master Jacques de Malay when first examined, was found in a state bordering on insanity from the cruelty with which he had been treated in prison: a few days after, when he had

a little recovered himself, and was in a state to be capable of answering, he was again brought up, and what was said to be his deposition was read to him. On hearing it he was so astonished that he made the sign of the cross, and exclaimed that "if the cardinals had been of any other quality he should well know what to say to them." When reminded that the cardinals were not there to receive a challenge to single combat, he replied that he did not mean that: but he prayed God that they might suffer the punishment which in such cases was inflicted among the Saracens and Tartars; "for," said he, "there they cut off the heads and rip open the bodies of such infamous liars." His indignant denial, however, was of no avail: though he and the Commander of Normandy were reserved to the last. It was not till March 1314 that they were brought up to receive the sentence of perpetual imprisonment: but dishonour was more terrible to them than death: again they asserted their innocence, and thereupon were condemned by the king as relapsed heretics, and burned alive in a spot near his own garden in Paris. It is said that at the stake the Grand Master appealed to heaven for the justice denied on earth; and summoned the

pope who had sanctioned, and the king who had ordered the proceedings against them, to appear before the tribunal of God, to answer for the crime,—Clement within forty days, and Philip within a year and a day. Whether the speedy death of both these potentates, who did die within the specified time, gave rise to the tale, or whether any such appeal was actually made by the victim, cannot now be satisfactorily determined; but at any rate the currency of such a notion shows the opinion generally entertained with regard to the whole transaction. In other countries the Templars were treated with less rigour, in some cases acquitted wholly of guilt; but their large property was too tempting a bait for the sovereigns in whose dominions it was situated, and the proceedings in France were followed by a general confiscation of their effects. The order itself was suppressed by the Council of Vienne, A. D. 1311.

The orders of mendicant friars, which had first been founded in the thirteenth century, with the approbation of the supreme pontiff, and which were for some time his most effectual supporters, began towards the latter part of that century to go farther than was by any means pleasing to the Roman hierarchy. The Francis-

can especially split into two sects, one of which accepted the pope's explanation of their vow of poverty, remained obedient to him, and enjoyed the riches which had poured in upon them under the pretext that the whole belonged to the head of the church, and was merely lent to them for their use; the other maintained that poverty was a Christian duty, and that those who indulged in pomp and luxury were no true successors of Christ: they, therefore, preached the necessity of mortification and self-denial, called the pope Antichrist, and prophesied his speedy destruction. These fanatics, who wandered over the country far and wide, had much influence over the commonalty; and no sooner was Boniface VIII. seated in the papal chair, than he set himself eagerly to extirpate what he stigmatized as a dangerous heresy. The leaders, as was now the usual course, were seized and "delivered over to the secular arm"—a periphrasis for condemnation to the flames; and the beginning of the fourteenth century was marked by a persecution scarcely less eager than that of the Albigois, a hundred years earlier. Fra Dolcino, the successor of Sagarelli, who had suffered as a heretic, A. D. 1300, for a time baffled his foes and became formidable from the numbers

who followed him, and who finally, when hopeless and starving, fought with the desperation of men who had rather die in the field of battle than await the slow torments of the burning pile. He was captured at last, and A.D. 1307 was tortured to death with a barbarity which has hardly a parallel even in the annals of the Inquisition.*

These things were patent to all Europe; but every country, every village, it may be said, had its own particular grievance: if the public immoralities, luxury, and exactions of pontiffs and prelates disgusted whole nations, every neighbourhood had also within its view some smaller and meaner copy of the more princely vices of the higher clergy.† The religious orders and the parish priests denounced one another as he-

* See Mariotti's Historical memoir of Fra Dolcino and his times, where the tale is told at length.

† "In 1300 certain ecclesiastics were excommunicated for going about in arms; for joining themselves to thieves, robbers, and other malefactors, and even directing their rapine. In 1305 and again in 1307 they were ordered not to frequent taverns, public spectacles, or the cells of strumpets; not to visit nuns, nor play at dice nor improper games; not to have concubines, nor to leave their property to their children, nor to use green and red silk clothes or gilt trappings."—Sharon Turner's *Hist. of Eng.* Part iv. c. 5.

retical, ignorant, hypocritical, or vicious ; and the laity saw good cause for believing that the charges on both sides were well founded. While the Inquisitors of the faith were eagerly engaged in detecting the slightest deviation from the doctrine which it was the pleasure of the Roman see to enforce, the duties of Christianity were left uncared for :—the great were not taught the sin of oppressing the people committed to their care ;—the poor were abandoned to all the suffering consequent on ignorance, and the improvidence, grossness, vice, and disease which it is sure to engender. Misgovernment, insurrection, war and misery of every kind, fill up the picture of the fourteenth century, till even the records of the time are painful to read. The clergy had for some time preserved a traditional notion of Christian duty, even after the doctrine of the church had been greatly corrupted ; and we find Bernard of Clairvaux, Anselm of Canterbury, and others, manfully maintaining the rights of the people, or rather manfully enforcing the duty of their rulers, even when property and life itself were at stake : but those days were past. The abandonment of the Templars by an obsequious and self-interested pontiff and council, when the persecution was so evidently

iniquitous, alienated many an influential family from a system which could countenance such proceedings, and the ferment in men's minds became general.*

In the beginning of 1373 Gregory XI. wrote to Charles V. of France, complaining that "the enemy of mankind had sown his tares in France; and that heresy was beginning again to raise its

* "In the midst of so much suffering it would have seemed that the French could have but little time for religious speculation and the reform of the church; nevertheless, the misfortunes of the time had not been sufficient to arrest the progress of learning and of the human intellect. The sojourn of the popes at Avignon had brought the scandals of the church more especially under the eyes of the French nation. Petrarca had attacked them with eloquence, Boccaccio with keen irony. The French, it is true, were far from equalling these accomplished Italians in erudition, in philosophy, or in intellectual power, nevertheless as their fame extended over all Europe, their writings were not without influence. Others with less of talent, but with perhaps a more profound conviction of the truth, occupied themselves with religious doctrine rather than literature: the dogmata of the church were for them the object of serious meditation; they felt a profound indignation against those who had corrupted all that men held most sacred; the fermentation which was finally to produce the Reformation had begun, and it never more ceased till it finally exploded in the sixteenth century."—Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*. A. D. 1375.

head, partly by the aid of the king's officers, who when the Inquisitors wished to proceed against the people called Vaudois,"—the remnant of the Albigeois—"threw all possible obstacles in their way; forcing them to communicate the details of the prosecution to the secular judges; setting at liberty suspected persons, who had been arrested without their concurrence; and finally, themselves neglecting to take the oath to exterminate heresy when they entered upon their office." The king, not disposed to offend the pontiff whilst he had so many enemies already to contend with, disavowed the merciful endeavours of his civil servants to afford the shelter of the law to those whose only fault was that of thinking more deeply than their neighbours; and gave the required orders. Accordingly the flames of persecution were again kindled; and the Inquisitors consigned men and women to this cruel death without mercy or moderation. But whole nations could not be exterminated, and although these barbarous executions were too common then to rouse all the indignation which they would now call forth, still the alienation of mind from the system which sanctioned them was increased; and Christianity itself bore the blame of the practices

introduced in the Roman church. Many embraced the reformed doctrine; but more set at nought all religion whatever, and lived for this world only. The licentiousness of the writings which have been handed down to us from this period, no less than the scandalous lives of the larger part of the community as well clerical as lay, show too plainly how widely this atheism of indifference had spread. But this did but urge earnest men into deeper thought: *they* could not and would not be satisfied with the state of things they saw about them: the first step in philosophy required the belief in a First Cause, —the next necessarily threw too much light on the nature and attributes of this First Cause, to allow the maxim “Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die,” to be received unhesitatingly. Man is not as the beasts that perish: he is able to investigate the truth, then there is truth to be found, for truth is but the knowledge of what *is*: and thus arose a variety of opinion as great as the variety of those who thought: for no two minds go through exactly the same training, and therefore no two will *exactly* agree, although upon fundamental points which admit of demonstration, those who are capable of understanding the proof will of course go so far in unity. The

variety of sects which arose out of the endeavour to reform the doctrines of the Roman church have been objected to it as an evil; but are these objectors sure that the unity they admire is any thing more than the dead indifference of persons who satisfy the world by compliance with the outward ceremonies of religion, while their hearts are with their merchandise or their pleasures?—Variety of opinion is a sign that the holders of these opinions have thought for themselves; they at least have not followed like sheep in the track of their neighbours; they may be wrong; it is the chance of finite humanity to err: but the man who thinks may at last reach the truth; the man who takes his faith upon trust most probably never will.

The Bulgarians had early embraced the purer doctrine of the Paulicians; and among them the Albigeois, flying from persecution in their own country, had found an asylum. Bohemia, which bordered on Bulgaria, had been for some time advancing in learning and civilization, and consequently the reformed doctrine found a ready hearing, and, very soon, able advocates in that country. In 1374 Gregory XI. was alarmed by hearing that Mileczius, a canon of Prague, and others professed and taught these opinions.

Hereupon he wrote letters to the Emperor Charles IV. and to several archbishops and bishops, exhorting them to pursue with unsparing severity all who had embraced the new doctrines, women as well as men. The bishop of Massa, meantime, was sent into the valleys inhabited by the Vaudois, with directions to exterminate heresy; i. e. to destroy the inhabitants. He arrested so many that there were neither prisons sufficient to hold, nor means of feeding them till the time of execution: but even this did not cause any relaxation: fresh prisons were founded, and the bishops charged with the maintenance of the prisoners, in order to make them more speedy in the execution of the accused. The miserable Vaudois, driven to desperation, killed one of the Inquisitors; but this was but an aggravation of their offence, and the persecution went on.

While the head of the church was thus decimating his flock by the agency of the Inquisitors of the faith, his political relations in Italy gave rise to scenes no less disgraceful. In order to combat his adversaries, he took into his pay some of the free companies;—namely, soldiers who after the long war between France and England had formed themselves into bands of

freebooters, ready to sell their services to any who could pay the price they asked. Yet even these men, steeped in blood as they were, hesitated to perform the orders of the cardinal legate who led them. This churchman having induced the inhabitants of Cesena to open their gates to him, by a promise of a complete amnesty, no sooner found his troops in possession of the place, than he ordered an indiscriminate massacre: five thousand souls, men, women, and children, perished in this horrible butchery: the legate himself standing in the midst, and urging on the savage murders by repeated exclamations of "kill all—kill all."*—Well might the ambassador of Florence appeal from the iniquitous decisions of the *soi disant* "Vicar of Christ" to Him whose name was thus profaned.† This

* Sismondi, Hist. des Rep. Ital. A. D. 1377.

† Gregory XI. had taken advantage of the plague and famine which afflicted the Florentines to endeavour to subjugate that free state. The consequence was that the magistrates resolved on war, and by offering support to the oppressed inhabitants of the papal states, soon induced them to vindicate their independence. In one year all but Rimini and its dependencies had withdrawn their allegiance from the Roman see. Gregory had nothing left but his spiritual arms, and these he used unsparingly. He put the city under an interdict, anathe-

cardinal was afterwards elected pope, under the title of Urban VI. and conducted himself with such ferocious violence as to raise suspicion as to his sanity. The sacred college fled from the man who had ordered five of their number to be sewn up in sacks and thrown into the river, and elected another pope: and thus began a fresh schism, which scandalised and distracted the Western church for fifty years.

But it was in England that the heaviest blow was struck at the corruptions of the Roman church. In other countries the reformers had chiefly been persons of the lower orders, seldom enough instructed in letters to be able to defend their opinions against the subtle disputers of the

matized and excommunicated the magistrates, called on all the sovereigns of Europe to confiscate the goods of the Florentine merchants which might be found in their states, to seize on their persons and to sell them for slaves. When Donato Barbadori, the ambassador of Florence, heard this sentence read he turned towards the crucifix, which was raised in the midst of the assembly, and exclaimed, "I appeal to Thee Father Almighty of the whole human race: to Thee who art a just judge, and cannot be deceived. Some men condemn us: I call upon Thee to witness the iniquity of the decision. In thy last judgment thou wilt give a juster sentence."—Poggio Bracciolini, l. ii. p. 233, cited by Sismondi, *Rep. Ital.*

schools ; but in England a man equal to the occasion arose. John Wycliffe, a native of Yorkshire, who had studied with success at Oxford, early convinced himself of the rotten foundation on which the whole system stood, and began about 1356 to write and preach against many of the doctrines of the Roman church. His opinions appear to have been viewed with favour by that university ; for notwithstanding his free promulgation of them, he was advanced to the highest honours it could bestow, and he held considerable preferment up to the day of his death.

It is seldom that men see the evil of any institution abstractedly, and Wycliffe's attention seems first to have been drawn towards the mendicant orders lately established by papal authority, in consequence of their interference in the affairs of the university. " By one of the statutes it was ordered ' that nobody should proceed Doctor of Divinity unless he had before been a Regent in Arts, either in that or some other university.' Of this the preaching friars complained, as bearing hard upon them, and to their prejudice. They laboured therefore very earnestly to have this statute repealed, and to be exempted themselves from the performance

of the university exercises. For this purpose they appealed to the Pope, petitioned the King, and insulted the Chancellor, Proctors, and Regents of the University; treating them with all imaginable contempt, and doing all they could to stir up the scholars to be seditious and troublesome. Not content with this, they took all opportunities to entice the youth from the colleges into their convents; insomuch that people were afraid of sending their children to the University, lest they should be kidnapped by the Friars.”*

In justification of their own practices, the mendicant friars asserted that Christ himself begged for a livelihood. Wycliffe, who was well acquainted with the scriptures, animadverted on this and other assertions of theirs, and in strong terms exposed the folly and sinfulness of voluntary beggary. In a tract written somewhere about 1360 he insists that “it is a leaving the commandment of Christ of giving of alms to poor feeble men, to poor crooked, to poor blind men, and to bed-rid men, to give alms to hypocrites that feyn them holy and needy, when they ben strong in body, and have overmuch riches both

* Lewis's *Life of Wiclif*, p. 5.

in great wast houses and precious cloths, and great feasts, and many jewels and tresour"—and complains that "they stelen children fro fader and moder . . and sith he that steleth an ox or a cow is damnable by God's law, and man's law also, muckel more he that steleth a man's child that is better than all earthly goods, and draweth him to the less perfitt Order." It was not to be expected that he could speak thus freely without exciting great animosity on the part of the persons thus attacked; and by their intrigues he was deprived of the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, to which he had been appointed by its founder "on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters."

It was whilst this suit was yet pending, that Pope Urban V. gave notice to King Edward III. that he intended to cite him to do homage for his realm of England, as John had done. Hereupon the king applied to his parliament, (A. D. 1366,) and received for an answer by the common consent of the whole, that "forasmuch as neither King John nor any other king could bring his realm and kingdom in such thraldom and subjection, but by common assent of parliament, the which was not done; therefore that

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what he did was against his oath at his coronation," and therefore illegal; and the parliament pledged the nation to support the king in his resistance to so unjust a demand. A monk undertook to defend the pope's claim, and challenged Wycliffe to dispute the point with him.* This engaged him yet farther in the examination of the papal usurpations, and prepared the way for questioning many other pretensions of the Roman see, which he did for the most part in small treatises written in the vernacular tongue, and which thus obtained a ready circulation among the middle orders, always the readiest to listen to projects of reform: for the acuteness engendered by habits of business is unfavourable to the quiet acquiescence in abuses which is sometimes found among persons not necessarily forced into active life. The man of commerce is, almost as a matter of necessity, unimaginative; he compares utility with cost; looks closely into the demands made upon him; and is generally too much of a cosmopolite to entertain any particular regard for the prejudices of his forefathers. Accordingly Wycliffe found willing

* Wycliffe, in his reply to this appeal, styles himself the king's clerk or chaplain.

hearers among the citizens of London; and while the academic and the preacher pointed out the encroachments of the hierarchy,* and the deviation from the rules of the gospel, which were made more evident by a translation of the Bible

* One of the modes adopted by the monks to obtain money was the sale of "letters of fraternity;" by which they pretended to assure to those who purchased them, a share in all the masses, fastings, &c. done by the brethren of the order. The following is a translation of one of these letters.

"Letters of Fraternity conceded to the lady Cristina Collett, by the Prior and Chapter of Christ's Church, Canterbury.

"To all the faithful to whom these letters of ours shall come, &c. . . Since our beloved in Christ, the lady Cristina Collett, widow, taking into her pious consideration that the sacrifice of the Mass, and exercises for the taking away of sin, and the augmenting of virtue, are of use, not only to those who do them, but also to those for whose service they are done, has earnestly entreated us to receive her into the communion of our prayers and good works (*suffragiorum*) We being willing to listen to her solicitations . . . by these letters admit her to be a participator henceforth in all masses, prayers, vigils, alms, fasts and other pious works, which by the grace of God we or our successors of the co-fraternity shall do henceforth for ever as well for her life as after her death . . . in witness whereof we have set hereto our common seal. Given in the Chapter-house this twenty-first of December one thousand five hundred and ten."—From the register of Christ Church, Canterbury, fol. 92, cited by Lewis.

into the vernacular tongue, which he undertook and published ;—Geoffrey Chaucer, by his poetic genius, influenced those who would perhaps have given small heed to graver writers. In his tales he lashes the vices of monks and ecclesiastics with no sparing hand ; and in so doing, like Boccaccio, who seems to have had the same object, offends frequently by painting too faithfully the corrupt manners of the age.

Notwithstanding the displeasure with which he must have been viewed at the papal court, Wycliffe was nominated by King Edward III. one of his ambassadors to the pope to treat “ concerning the liberties of the church of England, and of the prelates and other ecclesiastical persons of the said realm of England.”—After two years of negotiation, this treaty was concluded A. D. 1376, but was followed up almost immediately by a bill in Parliament, full of complaints against the malpractices of the papal court : representing that “ the tax paid to the pope of Rome for ecclesiastical dignities doth amount to five-fold as much as the tax of all the profits, as appertain to the King, by the year, of this whole realm . . . that the brokers of that sinful city (Rome) for money promote many caitiffs, being altogether unlearned and unworthy, to a thou-

sand marks' living, yearly; whereas the learned and worthy can hardly obtain twenty marks; whereby learning decayeth. That aliens, enemies to this land, who never saw, nor care to see their parishioners, have these livings, whereby they despise God's service, and convey away the treasure of the realm."—The parliament further complains of the shameless selling of benefices, and enumerates the number of high offices in the church held by Italians,—among which are those of Dean of York, of Salisbury, and of Lincoln, besides many other lucrative situations of inferior dignity.

It was probably after Wycliffe's return from this mission that he published his most elaborate work, commonly known under the title of *Triologus*;* consisting of a conversation in Latin

* This book was printed somewhere in Germany, A. D. 1525, with the following title. "Jo. Wiclefi viri undiquaque piissimi dialogorum libri quatuor." The copies of this book, having been destroyed by the papists, are so rare that the learned Mr. Wharton thought that in the library of Trinity College, in Cambridge, the only copy in England. But his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has another in his noble library." Lewis's *Life of Wycliffe*, p. 181. Another copy is said to exist in the library of the Cathedral at York. The writer is indebted to the liberality of the members of Trin. Coll. Camb. for a sight of this rare work.

between three persons on all the great doctrines of natural and revealed religion ; in which the author shows himself well acquainted, not only with the forms of scholastic disputation, but with the sciences of his time. He goes over the proofs of the being of a God in the manner of Anselm, in his Monologion, which work he refers to : and explains the Trinity thus. “ If God be infinite intellect, it is certain that he has the power of knowing himself and all other things : and this power of knowing is called God the Father ; and inasmuch as he *can* know himself, by so much he necessarily *does* know himself ; and this consciousness is called God the Son : and as it is not possible that he should thus know actually what he *can* know, without finally becoming quiescent in himself, this quiescent state is called the Holy Spirit. And these three absolutely and necessarily are co-eternal and coequal : ” and as he proceeds he explains this farther by comparing this Trinity in the Deity to a similar trinity in the rational soul, namely, individual consciousness or memory — reason, and volition. * He rejects the notion that man can be condemned for original sin

* Trial. lib. i. c. 6, 7.

without any fresh offence of his own; but he supposes that every man, from various causes, does sin, and consequently deserves condemnation on his own account: * he rejects also the intercession of Saints, saying that the church is far more likely to profit by seeking spiritual aid from "illam personam mediam" i. e. that middle person † between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. He considers that man was on the whole benefited by the Fall; for that one surrounded with temptations and rising superior to them arrives at a higher grade of virtue, and consequently of happiness, than one who is simply innocent from ignorance of evil: therefore God in his mercy has made what seemed a misfortune an advantage. ‡ In order, however, to enable man to arrive at this higher state, it was needful that the wisdom of God should wipe out the effect of what Adam had done

* "Et a quantumcunque infecto parente descenderit homo, nisi proprio peccatum habuerit, peccatum alterius non portabit. Trial. lib. iii. c. 26.

† The word *mediator*, in modern language, has a somewhat different meaning. It is well therefore to know what sense it bore at the time when the first rude draft of our authorized translation of the bible was made.

‡ Trial. lib. iii. c. 26.

through ignorance and pride ; and thus as Adam had tried to exalt himself till death was graciously inflicted, so the second Adam condescended to abase himself even so far as graciously to accept and bear the death of the body, both for satisfaction and example.* He adds an odd fancy that it was necessary that Christ should be hung upon a tree, because man's disobedience had been caused by the fruit of a tree. Baptism, he says, is of three kinds : i. e. that of water, which is the usual sign ;—that of blood, or martyrdom ;—and that of the Holy Spirit, which is invisible, and without which neither of the other two can avail to salvation. The baptism of water is requisite as a mark of obedience where it can be attained : but if unattainable, God can in his mercy bestow the spiritual and invisible baptism, and therefore we can never conclude any soul to be lost because the outward rite has not been administred. He declines, therefore, to enter upon the subject of infants dying unbaptized, thinking it a vain enquiry ; for we are assured that God will do what is right and good.† No outward sign is requisite to the bestowing of the Holy Spirit, which is the

* Trial. lib. iii. c. 25.

† Ib. lib. iv. c. 12.

immediate gift of God ; and therefore in confirmation and ordination it appears very doubtful whether the imposition of hands has any virtue beyond the earnest prayer which accompanies it. In the sacrament of the Lord's supper he teaches that the substance of the bread and wine remains ; but that it has superadded to it the virtue of being spiritually the body and blood of Christ, according to the words, " This is my body, &c. and he instances as an illustration of such super-addition, that a man on whom a high dignity is conferred, a prelate for example, is altered in rank and function and yet remains the same man.* No man, he says, can canonize another, because none but God can know who is finally blessed : and for a like reason no indulgence for sins can be granted, because this supposes a true repentance, and no human creature can tell who does truly repent. In all his treatises he frequently and earnestly inculcates the maxim that no heresy or apostacy can be so great as that of neglecting Christ's precepts ; and that without a virtuous life, the most orthodox profession of faith is unavailing. With regard to predestination, which became a

* *Ib.* lib. iv. c. 4.

source of so much dissension in the reformed church at a later period, his views appear rational and simple. Man being created by God has nothing that has not been given him by his Maker, therefore, strictly speaking, all virtue is bestowed upon him by the grace of God; and as the idea and purpose of God to make man must have existed in his eternal will before the creation, so with that idea must have existed also a knowledge of that creature's career; but this does not imply that God *necessitates* any action, but orders things so as to give a tendency towards what is good and right. *

The good sense of our great reformer is in nothing more apparent than in his avoidance of those vexed questions which admit of no certain proof: excepting in a very few instances, he passes them over as matters which it was only a waste of time to discuss; and lays down a rule which it would be well if theologians always acknowledged: i. e. that "God bindeth not men to believe anything which they may not understand,"† consequently those things which are

* Trial. lib. ii. c. 14.

† Tractatus De Ecclesia et Membris suis, published by Dr. Todd from a MS. in Trin. Coll. Dublin.

not rationally to be apprehended he leaves as he found them; assured that they cannot form any condition of salvation, since God cannot be unjust, or claim from man what he has not given him power to do. Like Paul he condemns general ceremonial rules, and wishes each man to do what is profitable for his own soul, since, as he says, "God has given wit and reason with his law" in order to enable him to choose what is best. Such was the theological creed of this learned and excellent man: and it is altogether so consonant to scripture, so rational, and so well considered, that it must remain a matter of great regret that his works are not better known, and more studied by our modern divines.

It appears from Wycliffe's works that the question whether the king and parliament had a right to punish the delinquencies of the hierarchy by taking away its temporalities, had been seriously discussed; and was boldly maintained by a large party in the state: for he alludes to "a council held in London on occasion of the earthquake," where some of the mendicant friars denounced both king and parliament as heretical on this account, and even carried their denunciations so far as to involve Jesus Christ himself

and all the doctors of the church for nearly one thousand years in the same charge.* The laity seems to have become awake to the danger the kingdom incurred from this militia of a foreign prince within the realm, and Wycliffe enters into a calculation of their numbers, and the cost to the nation of their maintenance. "If there be as is supposed," says he, "four thousand of these friars in England, each of whom consumes annually '100 solidos,' and as much more in building, repairing, and ornamenting their monasteries, it appears that this sect alone (the mendicant friars) expends of the goods of the realm 60,000 marks annually.† There is no

* Cum ergo in hoc concilio terræmotus, *damnarunt Christum tanquam hæreticum et doctores præcipuos, et per mille annos ac amplius ab ecclesia approbatos . . . specialiter laborant in eodem concilio ad damnandum regem Angliæ, proceres ejus ac regnum tanquam hæreticos, et per consequens ad exhæredandum omnes hos dominos. Ac Robertum Gibbonensem cum globo hæreticorum fratrum de suo concilio in Angliam inducendum. Assumant autem . . . quod error nimis periculosus est dicere quod domini temporales possunt ad arbitrium eorum auferre bona temporalia ab ecclesia delinquente.*—Trial. lib. iv. c. 37.

† Ut esto quod sint in Anglia 4000 fratrum talium qui quilibet consumat annuatim in persona sua de bonis regni centum solidos, totidem in ædificationibus et in reparationibus et adornationibus domorum claustrorum.

lord in England who can expend so much, and in truth the people murmur at it." And he gives as a reason for the enmity of the preaching friars, their fear of the dissolution of their houses, which the king and his lords at that time appear seriously to have contemplated. Had Edward III. been younger, or had his son survived him, it appears very probable that something of the kind would have been attempted; but Richard II. however well disposed to grasp at the plunder of the monasteries, was too versatile and thoughtless to accomplish such a work. He disgusted his people by attempting arbitrary measures, and despising the commons; and the members of the *parti pretre*, never backward at seeing a danger, or scrupulous in the choice of means to avoid it, soon had it in their power to repair their damaged influence by the ruin of the imprudent king. The duke of Lancaster mounted the throne, and the law *De hæreticos*

Et tunc patet quod illa secta expendit de bonis regni sexaginta milia marcarum annuatim non dubium quin nedum sollicite sed cum multis mendaciis propterea perpetratis. Sed quis dominus in Anglia sufficeret tantum expendere, ut fratres reptantes in domos, vel cameras divitum et lautiosa cibaria consumentes? Nimis consumunt de bonis regni qui sua vescibilia sic furant . . . Et revera totus populus rem murmuraret. Ib. c. 35.

comburendo, which was passed in the following year, showed plainly to whom he felt himself obliged. But Wycliffe had gone to his grave in peace before the deposition of Richard; and the enmity of the sacerdotal party could only reach his insensible remains, and his works, which were destroyed without mercy, and of which many it is to be feared are altogether lost in consequence.

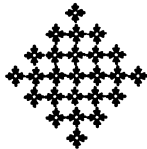
The influence which this great man exercised over his age was remarkable. The queen of Richard II. being a Bohemian princess, the writings of the venerable rector of Lutterworth soon found their way into that kingdom; and as the reformed opinions had already met with supporters in the lately founded university of Prague, they were greedily read. John Huss, a man of humble origin, but who had attained high academical honours, undertook the translation of many of his treatises, and soon became even more active than the English reformer in preaching against the corruptions of Rome. His writings are much inferior to those of Wycliffe in point of philosophical truth, and abound in the conceits which the theologians of the period so generally indulged in: but he was a determined opponent of the corruptions of the Roman

church, and kindled a spirit among a large portion of his countrymen which ended in their successfully maintaining their opinions by force of arms : * but this took place in the next century, and belongs more properly to the military operations of the reformers.

To persons who had been accustomed only to the unintelligible and jejune treatises of the theologians of the time, it is not wonderful that the vigorous common sense which pervades the writings of Wycliffe should have had a peculiar charm. Plain truth in plain language has a wonderful influence at all times ; but then, when it was a novelty, it excited the people to enthusiasm : they had again found something they could believe, and they were ready to die for it. Thousands did so die : and while we are enjoying the prosperity and comfort which the free use of the human intellect, and the consequent progress of science, has procured and is procuring for us, let us not forget those brave souls who shrunk not from torture and death, though infamy appeared to be their lot, and who hoped

* The history of the war in which the Hussites were victorious is amply given in a modern work within the reach of all, "The Religious History of the Slavonic Nations," by Count Valerian Krasinski, published in 1850.

for no reward but the approbation of that God for whose truth they died : and while remembering them with gratitude, let us remember too that the truth which they have handed down to us is precious ; and not to be neglected or thrown away because a fresh set of prejudices may have grown up, or a fresh set of men may call on us to submit to their dicta.





CONCLUSION.

TO give any thing like a history of the Reformation whose beginning I have now sketched, or of the wars consequent upon it, would require far more space than can be allowed to the writers of these " Small Books ;" but those who have followed attentively the course of events thus far, will be at no loss to trace the causes in which it originated. It would be a great mistake to suppose that these were purely religious. No doubt the indignation and disgust excited by the vices of the clergy, the exactions and ambition of the popes, and the falsification of gospel doctrine, which with increasing knowledge became every day more apparent, had their share in causing the general upheaving of the middle and lower orders which took place at this period : but this would hardly have produced so general a movement had not political wrongs created a large sum of discontent with the existing order of things. The nations of Europe had outgrown their institutions,

both civil and religious ; and the attempt to fix the yoke more heavily upon them, did but rouse men's minds to enquire for what purpose it was imposed ; and it was asked in continually louder and louder tones, whether religion was merely a set of ceremonies, contrived for the enriching of a certain order of men ; and whether the great bulk of the population was created simply that it might be plundered by all who had arms, and had learned to use them ?

Increasing commerce and learning were already teaching men that there were other roads to greatness than those hewn out by the sword ; and the thrifty citizen, whose purse probably outweighed that of the wasteful and proud noble who looked down upon him, felt little inclined to acknowledge the superiority of a man scarcely better than a robber ; or to submit to the spoliation of his hardly-earned wealth for the aggrandisement of a race of idle men, who contributed nothing to the industrial prosperity of the country. The want of laws which should defend person and property was felt especially by the non-militant classes ; and when to this was added the excitement of popular preachers, setting before their hearers the truths of the gospel

in their own rude language, divested of all those subtleties of the schools wherewith the doctors of the church had hitherto "darkened knowledge," political and religious wrongs became so blended in the popular imagination, that probably the very actors in that great drama themselves hardly knew how to separate the motives which urged them on. The nobility who embraced the new doctrines, or rather supported their preachers, thought more of humbling the pride of the hierarchy, than of asserting that state of equal rights before God which the oppressed lower orders placed foremost in *their* views. This was evident enough when these doctrines first won attention among the mass of the people: for though Henry Percy the earl marshal, and the duke of Lancaster, had taken up the defence of Wycliffe against his enemies, and confronted with warlike fierceness the bishop of London, when the great reformer was called before him to answer for his so-called errors; these very men must have shared in the vote of parliament by which the emancipation of the serfs, which the king was ready to have granted, was harshly refused after the insurrection in 1381. The humbling the ecclesiastical body, and the spolia-

tion of its rich endowments, were in fact the aim of the aristocracy,* and probably of the king also; while the people in their turn saw in the preaching of the reformers the dawn of better times for them: and thus, mingled with occasional passionate yearnings for a doctrine which might satisfy the heart and understanding, worldly and political interests played their part. A few were conscientious and zealous for the truth, but in all great movements of this kind those who contend for a principle are the minority: the great mass will be swayed by abundance of other and lower motives; and the higher one will only obtain casual audience when some great master of human passion unlocks for a short time by his eloquence the secret recesses of the heart, and like a current of electricity, reproduces his own views in other minds by induction.

But these mixed motives are precisely those which when some great object is to be attained, are the most available. When dogs or wolves

* This is asserted in direct terms by Walsingham. Those who wish to see this part of English history more fully discussed, will find a good deal of information on the subject in Sharon Turner's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. 1st Edit.

hunt in packs each is thinking of devouring the game thus pursued ; and when once it is pulled down, they quarrel for the carcase, but in the mean time the union is complete ; and thus it is with self-interested men : they will join any who will help them in the pursuit of their object, till the time for dividing the spoil arrives. It was when the scramble for the temporalities of the hierarchy began, that the worldly and selfish showed themselves in their true colours : but the victory had been won by their aid, and the few sensible and conscientious men who would gladly have seen better measures, were frequently overpowered, and obliged to submit or temporize in order to obtain the effectuation of a part even of their views. We must not, therefore, impute the fault to the immediate authors of the reform, if it were not such as a calmer and more enlightened period would have wished to find it ; but neither must we fancy that it grew, even as regarded England, out of the caprice of one arbitrary monarch. From the time that Edward III. refused homage to the supreme pontiff, and his chaplain Wycliffe justified that measure by arguments drawn from the great principles of civil and ecclesiastical rights, the movement was begun which could not fail sooner

or later to bring about that adjustment of the relations between the two which the multiplied interests of social life require. The want of steadiness in the monarch who succeeded to the throne, the accession of the house of Lancaster, which was obliged to bolster up a bad title by courting the priestly party, and the wars of the roses which followed and distracted the country with continual civil broils, left little chance of carrying out the work which Wycliffe had begun ; but no sooner was Henry VII. firmly seated on the throne, than we find him again taking up the work which his predecessors had left unfinished. The first acts of his reign have a view to reforming the manners of the clergy, and we find complaints made by pope Innocent VIII. of the condemnation of priests by secular judges, as well as of the confiscation of various lands held by cathedrals, &c. In 1489 a bull was granted by the same pope authorizing the king to direct various monasteries to be visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Morton) and brought back to their ancient customs : and this inquisition brought to light so much of the malpractices in these institutions* that the proceedings of

* The following letter from Archbishop Morton to the Abbot of St. Alban's, dated A. D. 1490, will give some notion of the state of things in these so-called "religious

the succeeding reign appear to have been little else than a necessary consequence of this en-

houses," and may console those who are inclined to regret their dissolution. For decency's sake I am obliged to leave out some part of the original in the translation which I subjoin. The letter itself is to be found in Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britannicæ et Hibernicæ*, vol. iii. p. 632.

"John by divine permission Archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, Legate of the Apostolic see, visitor, inquisitor, reformer, and judge; sufficiently and legally deputed by the beforesaid see; to William, Abbot of the monastery of St. Alban's, of the order of St. Benedict and in the diocese of Lincoln, but as I am informed, under the immediate jurisdiction of the Roman church, health." He then announces that he has received a papal bull requiring him to institute an enquiry into the affairs of the monastery, and thus proceeds, "We have heard by public report and much testimony worthy of credit, that thou, Abbot, hast long been and art infamous for simony, usury, waste of the goods and possessions of the monastery, and several other enormous crimes and excesses; and so remiss, negligent, and prodigal, that in the beforesaid monastery, founded by the piety of illustrious princes, &c. and where true religion was once cultivated, the conventual rule held in reverence, and hospitality diligently observed, the practice of all these things is relaxed, and has been so during a considerable time, since thou hast been the ruler of the beforesaid monastery: in consequence of which the pious intentions of the founder are unavailing, the former mode of life neglected, and not a few of the monks of your brotherhood,—which is greatly to be lamented—giving themselves up to a reprobate mind, and overlooking the

quiry.* If therefore there was much rapacity and little conscientiousness shown in the business, we must blame for it the lax morality of

fear of God lead a lascivious life ; and horrible to relate scruple not to profane the holy places by * * * * and that thou among the other serious, erroneous, and infamous crimes of which thou art accused, hast admitted a married woman, Helena Germyn by name (who long ago left her husband and cohabited adulterously with another man) to be a sister and nun in the priory of Pray, under thy jurisdiction, and made her afterwards prioress of the same, notwithstanding that her beforesaid husband was and is still living ; and Thomas Sudbury, one of your monks, is admitted to her in the before-named Priory, and lives in adulterous intercourse with her publicly, notoriously, and with impunity. Also others of your monks have a continual impure access to her and others, there and elsewhere as in a public brothel : and this is the case not only in the Priory of Pray, but also in the nunnery of Lapwell, which thou claimest to have jurisdiction over ; where thou hast at thy own pleasure removed the prioresses and other good and religious women, and filled their places with bad and vicious ones : and thus religion is abandoned, virtue is neglected, and enormous expense incurred . . . so that the goods of the monastery are reduced to nothing. And thou hast done the same in other religious houses which thou claimest to have in thy jurisdiction : hast spent the goods, cut down the woods, and sold large trees to the value of 8000 marks . . the monks are, as it is said, given up to this world, and almost wholly neglect divine worship, and both in the monastery and elsewhere, publicly and continually live in impure

the age which those very corruptions of religion which required correction, had engendered. The work of reformation is necessarily conducted by

intercourse with these abandoned women and others. Other monks, ambitious of honours and promotion, in order to win thy favour, steal and carry off cups and other goods of the church, and even the ornaments of the shrine, while thou affordest them thy protection, instead of punishing them, and if any one of the brotherhood chance to be good and religious, he is immediately hated and treated with disrespect." . . . The Archbishop then commands that the offenders shall in sixty days from the receipt of that mandate be corrected and reformed, and the wasted goods restored, and if the order be not complied with, he signifies his intention of visiting in person, or by his deputy, to effect the correction of these abuses by the power with which he is invested.

* On the first Sept. 1524 Clement VII. granted a bull to Wolsey to visit and reform religious places; to enquire into the lives and manners of the inhabitants, and to chastise and punish them. Wilk. Conc. vol. iii. p. 704. In the same year, the pope having given the privilege, the king issued his writ, authorizing the cardinal to suppress various monasteries at Oxford, and to found endowments out of their revenues, *ib.* p. 708. In 1528 Clement sent Wolsey a power to degrade "*Clericos*," because he had represented that some priests committed "*atrocia crimina*," *ib.* p. 713. In 1529 the same pope issued to him another bull, allowing him to suppress other monasteries and to erect cathedral churches instead; *ib.* p. 715.—Sharon Turner's *History of Henry VIII.* p. 650, note.

the men of the age which needs the reform, and must as necessarily partake in a certain degree of the faults of the time. We do not easily cast off the impressions of our childhood; we cannot entirely emancipate ourselves from the external impressions of the society in which we live: and if we could, the wrench would be too great an one to be attempted generally. Reformation, then, like all other human things, must be progressive, and we can no more accept any measure as final, than we can require any age to abide in the same state of science and civilisation as that of the former one. As long as man is imperfect and yet capable of advance to what is better, this must be the case: the attempt to stereotype any system so as to preclude change, is to take from it all vitality, and render it at last a dead and crushing weight on the people who are subjected to it. If any vigour remain in the nation it will endeavour to shake off the load, and then follow those convulsions of the body politic which alarm the world, but which are in fact the symptoms of returning life.

The great struggle which took place in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was one of these crises. The demand for a religious reform was necessarily mixed up with the

demand for political ones, because religion had been corrupted, and was itself become a tyranny : but the contest in fact was that of the many against the few : it was for political freedom and civil rights ;—and freedom of conscience was demanded as one of these : but whoever will study the history of the times, will see that the temporal usurpations of the Roman pontiff were the main cause of the opposition to his rule ; and the religious enthusiasm of the people was rather excited and used by princes and generals, than complied with. In Germany the prince electors had urged upon the emperor as early as A. D. 1455, the expediency of rendering the nation wholly independent of the see of Rome ; and many of the papal privileges in that country had been curtailed, before any one thought of meddling with the doctrines taught. In France the protest against the attempt of Boniface VIII. to interfere in the internal management of the kingdom was decided and unanimous ; and in Italy we have already seen how impatiently the ambition and oppression of the pontiffs was borne by the rising middle class of citizens.

The tribes of the north which overran the Roman empire were for the most part branches from the same stock, and so much alike in habits,

language, and laws, that there was but little distinction observed between them. It was not till a settled life in countries widely separated had caused the different dialects of the great Teutonic family to grow into distinct languages that the feeling of nationality developed itself: but no sooner had this taken place than any foreign interference became irksome. The nation had its own language, its own king; it required to have its own system of law and of worship to render it wholly independent; and rightly judged that the benefits resulting from this independence were worth even a heavy purchase money. It was because this love of independence showed itself in resistance to all arbitrary measures that those monarchs of Europe who coveted despotic rule, took the pretext afforded them by the ferment in religious opinion to crush under the name of heresy the growing spirit of freedom; and it was to oppose this despotic rule that the people in their turn supported the opinions of the reformers who declaimed against all tyranny as well temporal as spiritual.

That the movement was mainly political may be proved by the conduct of the reformers when they were successful. So far from understanding the spirit of the gospel they were nearly as

severe in enforcing compliance with their views as their opponents had been; and in Bohemia, where they first obtained political power, George Podiebrad, the king of their choice inflicted punishment on such as refused to communicate in both kinds, and otherwise coerced those who adhered to the faith in which they had been educated. In fact the religious question had been too much blended with that relating to civil rights to be any longer capable of separation; and when the executive government was of the reformed church the refusal to communicate in both kinds was the badge of a party pledged to oppose it in all things, and implied an utter denial of obedience to the constituted authorities, the legality of whose regulations was denied by the church of Rome, while they were under the censure of the pontiff. On both sides the understood meaning of the refusal to comply with the established usage was the same: and one party or the other as they in turn prevailed, punished religious non-conformity as political treason which in most instances it really did include: and at that time few were cool or philosophical enough to make a distinction in favour of those who were really conscientious in their resistance. The religious test was chosen as one of easy application where

there were no overt acts of treason, but when rebellion or insurrection were so imminent that any day might produce an outbreak: and the quiet few who only wished for liberty to worship God in their own way suffered for the fault of the turbulent many, who made the service their pretext, but in their hearts were devoted to the temporal empire which they sought either to establish, or to maintain. The laws which were made against Romanists in England were the consequence of treasonable machinations against the state, excited as was supposed by the enmity of the Roman pontiff: communion with Rome was a profession of allegiance to a foreign prince, the enemy of the sovereign, and thus it became constructive treason. In Spain and other countries where the court remained on good terms with Rome, the refusal to join in that communion was no less considered as treasonable—the struggle was then for life or death, freedom or slavery: what wonder that men's minds grew heated in the contest, and that they were as willing to call down fire from heaven; or, failing that, to borrow it from earth, as those disciples whom the meek Jesus rebuked and assured that they knew not what spirit they were of.

How great the excitement was may be judged

from the fact that men's minds are not cooled even yet after the lapse of three centuries, and for this reason all the histories of the events of that period must be taken with some grains of allowance according to the known bias of the writer.* Even yet it is a question with many whether it be not a part of Christian duty to enforce conformity to our own system of worship wherever there is power to do so. How little this is in accordance with the humility and brotherly love enjoined by the gospel I need hardly point out: I shall have written to small purpose, if I have not shown that a profession of faith is not belief, and that, as Wycliffe long ago insisted, the true apostacy is the turning away from Christ by neglecting his precepts. He who follows Christ truly, and in every sect there are many who do,—will not need the secular arm to aid him in making converts, and those converts will love the doctrine because they love the man who taught it. Be the contest then,—if our sluggish nature must needs have a contest to keep the blood in circulation,—be the

* M. Ranke is by far the most impartial writer on this subject, and the very clever translation of his History of the Popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by Mrs. Austin has placed it within the reach of all.

contest between rival sects that of Christian charity and benevolence, and let them count their triumphs, not by the numbers who can repeat a creed or a catechism, but by the holiness pervading their lives, and by the intellectual progress which will enable them to pay that reasonable service to their Father and Lord which alone can be acceptable to the Author of Nature. We should not then hear of "Dangerous Classes," or see public peace dependent on the sabres and muskets of an armed force. I am no prophet: I will not attempt to say how long the monarchs of Europe will sit on thrones made slippery with blood; but let the legislators of England in church and state at least remember that the things of long ago are in fact childish things; the toys and the lesson books of our nonage: and that nations like men must advance to maturity. It may be a ripe and a glorious one crowned with the wealth and the peace which the studies and the toils of earlier years have ensured:—it may be one of waste and decrepitude: but mature they must become in either case: let those then who love their country, their fellow-men, and their God, take care that the maturity of England shall not belie the promise of its youth.

A work which professes to be a sketch of man's moral and intellectual progress would not be complete without some notice of modern civilization and its probable influence on the destiny of the human race; but this point of the task is just at present attended with extraordinary difficulties. It is not many years since a French philosopher of no mean talent, laid it down as a certainty that France, Germany, and England were marching in the van of the world's civilization, and that where they led the rest would assuredly follow. *

* " La destinée de l'humanité paraît dépendre uniquement de l'avenir des nations actuellement civilisées. On peut, en d'autres termes, considérer les nations actuellement civilisées comme formant à elles seules l'humanité tout entière. Mediter sur l'avenir de ces nations, c'est donc méditer sur l'avenir du monde. . . . Pour ceux qui ont la vue haute . . . il marche tout entier sous trois seules bannières; en d'autres termes, trois systèmes de civilisation se partagent actuellement l'humanité. Or de ces trois systèmes, l'un le système Chrétien, nous a paru exclusivement doué de cette vertu expansive qui est la vie d'une civilisation comme la végétation est celle des plantes. Lui seul en effet se perfectionne et s'agrandit, lui seul est animé de la double ardeur des améliorations et du prosélytisme, lui seul fait des conquêtes sur les autres, lui seul les rallie en effet . . . Il a donc tous les signes d'une vie forte et vigoureuse . . . On ne peut s'empêcher de conclure que si le sys-

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To have written the course of works he was then proposing to give to the public on religion, morals, and history, would have been comparatively easy, and the augury for the future would

tème Chrétien ne périt point par des vices intérieurs, la possession de la terre lui est réservée. Cette civilisation contient donc l'avenir du monde. Mais de même que la civilisation Chrétienne paraît devoir entraîner dans son mouvement tous les peuples de la terre, de même un petit nombre de nations paraissent entraîner dans leur la civilisation Chrétienne. Ce sont celles qui sont à la tête de cette civilisation, c'est à-dire, la France, l'Angleterre, et l'Allemagne. Il est évident, en effet, que les autres nations Chrétiennes aspirent et arriveront tôt ou tard à l'état de lumières, de liberté, et de raison, où ces trois pays sont parvenus, tandis que ces trois pays eux-mêmes tendent à un but encore inconnu et qu'aucune nation n'a atteint. A ce signe on reconnaît les peuples les plus avancés du monde, ceux qui ouvrent le sillon et fraient la route à l'humanité. Toutes les autres nations imitent quelque chose de plus parfait que leur condition, qu'elles voient réalisé dans la condition de quelque nation plus avancée. Les trois peuples que nous avons nommés sont les seuls qui inventent, c'est-à-dire, qui cherchent leur perfectionnement non dans l'exemple de quelque nation plus éclairée, plus heureuse, mieux ordonnée, mais dans le monde des idées et de la vérité. . . Le philosophe qui spéculé sur son avenir peut et doit le chercher tout entier dans celui de cette civilisation dominante dont Paris, Londres, et Berlin sont les foyers." *Mélanges Philosophiques*, par Théodore Jouffroy, 2de. Edit. Paris, 1838, p. 115, et seq.

have presented few difficulties. The last few years have, however, complicated the problem in an extraordinary degree. The three great nations which were leading the world have suddenly taken different paths, one of them, at least, is on the road back to a state of things which all had hoped was past for ever,—to that utter despotism in fact, which can see no safety but in fettering the intellect whose requirements it is determined not to satisfy; while another is staggering still under the effect of the blows it has received “in the house of its friends,” and seems still uncertain as to its course.

What then is the fate of European civilization? The writer may well be allowed to pause and look round ere he proceeds to consider a subject which requires a prophet's eye to guess even at the result. For the present, England alone appears to be holding its course towards the goal unmoved by the surrounding crash. Does it carry within itself, like the rest, the seeds of decay, or has it vitality enough still to enable it to hold on as the vanguard of the world's progress, and act as the pioneer for other nations?—The question is an important one for mankind, since if this country too swerves aside, the whole may find itself for a time following an

ignis fatuus, and only recover the right path after long and dangerous wanderings. In the next and concluding part, therefore, it will be necessary to consider more especially the part which England is taking in the carrying out of that Christian civilization which neither it nor any other nation has yet completely realized, but to which a nearer approach has been made in each succeeding century. The principles on which that civilization must be founded have indeed been acknowledged abstractedly as most truths are: but when their practical application is thought of, old prejudices, vested interests, time-honoured abuses, and all the array of obstacles which are put in the way of anything new, by the instinctive conservatism of the human race, present their serried front, and finish by frightening away the assailant by their apparent strength. To a certain degree this instinct, like all other instincts, is good; for it prevents those rapid changes which are nearly as fatal to orderly progress, as a too exclusive adherence to the hour-book of our national childhood: but it may run into excess; and those who believe that there is a path by which the good can be safely attained without either running too fast or creeping to it by a step in a century, will

perhaps not be sorry to join one who has thought much of the past, and seen a good deal of the present, in the endeavour to discover where that path lies. Circumstances may delay the publication of this last part: it will not appear till 1854, at any rate, perhaps not so soon, and with it the series of "Small Books on Great Subjects" will come to an end. If the writers and the editors of these tracts have been so happy as to prepare the road for the onward movement which events so imperiously require, they will have gained their object, and will rest from their labours with the comfortable assurance that they have not lived in vain.

They, like the rest of the world, have not been free from mortal change during the twelve years which have elapsed since they first undertook to show that philosophy and Christianity were not in antagonism. One of their number has already gone to that place whither his works will follow him: all are drawing nearer to it; and the humble hope that they have been useful in their generation will be among the best pleasures, probably, which after years will give.

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